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THE  
DĪPAVAMSA AND MAHĀVAMSA

AND  
THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN CEYLON.

BY  
WILHELM GEIGER.

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY  
ETHEL M. COOMARASWAMY.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

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Ak.	= Aṭṭhakathā.
Asl.	= Attha-Sālinī, ed. E. MÜLLER. PTS., 1897.
Bv.	= Buddhavaṃsa, ed. MORRIS. PTS., 1882.
Catal.	= DE ZOYSA, Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon. Colombo, 1880.
CV.	= Cullavagga (OLDENBERG, The Vinaya Piṭakam II. London, 1880).
CVak.	= Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā.
D.	= Dīpavaṃsa, ed. OLDENBERG. London, 1879.
Da . Púj.	= Daḷadā Pújāvaliya, ed. PERERA. Brandiya-watta, 1893.
Dātháv.	= Dāthávaṃsa, ed. RHYS DAVIDS. JPTS., 1884.
Dhv.	= Dhātuvavaṃsaya, ed. DHAMMAKKHANDA. Dondanduwa, A.B. 2433 = A.D. 1890.
Hatthav.	= Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa (The Pāli Text of the Attanagaluvaṃsa.. by J. ALWIS, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1887).
Idg. F.	= Indogermanische Forschungen, pub. by BRUGMANN und STREITBERG.
JASB.	= Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JNk.	= Jātaka-Nidānakathā (FAUSBÖLL, The Jātaka I., 1 seq.).
JPTS.	= Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
JRAS.	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS. C.B.	= Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Katháv. P.A.	= Kathávattthupparāṇa-Aṭṭhakathā, ed. MINAYEFF. JPTS., 1889.
KM.	= Kambodian Mahāvaṃsa.
M.	= Mahāvaṃsa (quoted according to the edition by SUMANGALA and BAṬUWANTUDÁWE. Colombo, 1883).
MAk.	= Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā.

MBv.	= Mahābodhivaṃsa, ed. STRONG. PTS., 1891.
MCVAk.	= Mahācetiyaṃsaṭṭhakathā.
M. N.	= Majjhima Nikāya (vol. I., ed. TRENCKNER ; vols. II., III., ed. CHALMERS. PTS., 1887-1892).
Mṭ.	= Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā, ed. BAṬUWANTUPĀWE and NĀṆISSARA BHIKSHU. Colombo, 1895.
MV.	= Mahāvagga (OLDENBERG, The Vinaya Piṭakam I. London, 1879).
Nik. S.	= Nikāyasaṅgrahava or Śāsanāvatarāya, ed. D. M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE. Colombo, 1890.
PTS.	= Pāli Text Society.
PThv.	= Pāli Thūpavaṃsa, ed. DHAMMARATANA. Colombo, 1896.
Pújāv.	= Pújāvaliya : a Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pújāvaliya (by B. GUṆASĒKARA). Colombo, 1893.
QS.	= Quellenstelle. (Passages from the sources.) Cf. p.
Rājaratn	= Rājaratnākaraya, ed. SADDHANANDA. Colombo, 1887.
Rájāv.	= Rájāvaliya, ed. B. GUṆASĒKARA. Colombo, 1900.
SAk.	= Sīhalatṭhakathā.
Sās., Sās. V.	= Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. BODE. PTS., 1897.
SBE.	= Sacred Books of the East, ed. M. MÜLLER.
Smp.	= Samanta-Pāsādikā, ed. OLDENBERG (in The Vinaya Piṭakam III. London, 1881).
SThv.	= Sinhalese edition of the Thūpavaṃsa, ed. DHAMMARATANA. Colombo, 1889.
Sum.	= Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, vol. I., ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER. PTS., 1886.
Thv.	= Thūpavaṃsa. See PThv. and SThv.
UVAk.	= Uttaravihāratṭhakathā.
UVM.	= Mahāvamsa of the Uttaravihāra.
VAk.	= Vinayatṭhakathā.
ZDMG.	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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The quotations from the Indian works refer to pages and lines of the editions quoted above ; in the D. and M., to canto and verse ; in the Hatthav., to chapter and paragraph.



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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THE following studies are the result of several years' work devoted to the epic poems of Ceylon and the literature pertaining thereto. They form the introduction, both from the historical and literary point of view, to a critical edition of the Mahāvamsa, which I am preparing. I have little to say by way of preface to my treatise. As it discusses a concrete example of the problem of the origin of the epic, and one that I believe, moreover, to be very instructive, I hope that it may perhaps attract attention here and there outside the narrow circle of specialists. On page 62 I must mention that I naturally have not the numerous cases in mind where the words *vuttam hoti* merely paraphrases the original text, but only such where new material of the matter concerned is brought to light. The example given in Note \* proves that in such cases often literal quotations are used from some of the original sources. With regard to the Sahassavatthaṭṭhakathā, mentioned on page 48, I refer to the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa hitherto existing only in MS. Evidently both works are closely related, and at the same time also with the Rasavāhinī and the Sinhalese Saddharmāṇkāra. I have reserved this whole group for a later work.

WILHELM GEIGER.

*Erlangen, February, 1905.*



THE  
DĪPAVAMSA AND MAHĀVAMSA.

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INTRODUCTION.

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HERE is hardly a corner of the Indian continent of whose history we know so much as we do of that of the Island of Ceylon. The main sources are two chronicles in Pāli verse, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*, the former written in the fourth, the latter towards the end of the fifth century. They contain the same material, which in the main is similarly distributed. They begin with the history of Gotama Buddha and his three visits to Laṅkā. Then some genealogy is inserted, carrying the family of the Buddha back to the mythical King Mahāsammata. Both chronicles then continue the history of Buddhism on to the Third Council under King Asoka. Once more the tale goes back to the primitive history of Ceylon, and to the coming of the first Aryan settlers to the Island, under the leadership of Vijaya, following on with a list of the early Sinhalese kings to the death of Mahāsēna at the beginning of the fourth century after Christ. The reign of Asoka's contemporary, King Devānampiyatissa, under whom Mahinda, Asoka's son, introduced Buddhism into Ceylon, is mentioned with special detail. Just as copiously the *Mahāvāṃsa* deals with the deeds of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, whose reign in the second century B.C. represents the heroic period in Ceylon.

In India, history has never quite been able to separate itself from poetry. We cannot wonder then that both these Ceylon chronicles are a mixture of myths, legends, tales, and history. The farther we go back into the past the more mythical becomes the story. In like manner the reliability increases the nearer we approach the author's own times.

But of course even the later sections stand in need of historical criticism.

Whoever writes the history of Ceylon will have to separate the real kernel of fact from this traditional material. But the writer of history as literature cannot but rejoice over the form in which the record of events is embodied. He will follow the origin of the epic tradition, its building up, and its after-life in later writings. These are some of the problems that I shall try to solve in the following pages. I feel that from the standpoint of the history of literature, the Ceylonese chronicles deserve notice not only amongst Orientalists but in wider circles.

We are here able, in a way that elsewhere is not easy, to follow the development of an epic in its literary evolution. We are able to picture to ourselves the contents and form of the chronicle which forms the basis of the epic song, and of the various elements of which it is composed. We may note in it the signs and characters of the original oral tradition, lying far back in time, and the mixture of prose and verse. The *Dípavaṃsa* represents the first unaided struggle to create an epic out of already existing material. It is a document that fixes our attention just because of the incompleteness of its composition and its want of style. We stand on the very threshold of the epic. In like manner the severe form of the *Apollo of Tenea* is more interesting to the archæologist than many a more celebrated work of fully evolved Grecian sculpture.

The *Mahāvāṃsa* is already worthy of the name of a true epic. It is the recognized work of a poet. And we are able to watch this poet in a certain measure at his work in his workshop. Although he is quite dependent on his materials, which he is bound to follow as closely as possible, he deals with them critically, perceives their shortcomings and irregularities, and seeks to improve and to eliminate.

But the process is not finished here. The *Mahāvāṃsa* has been added to in later times by writers who have carried on the history to their own day. The original work even has been revised. It so happened that the writer, without making any serious alteration in the original, inserted any episode that seemed worthy of notice to him, thus nearly doubling the bulk of the matter. The sources from which he drew these episodes are usually recognizable. In the same way also revision in respect to the literary form took place. It is not the "folk" that added or revised, but one individual, who never followed where his fancy led, but took the written material as it was, and, with more or less skill, adapted it to new needs.

Finally, we mark how the subject of the epic is absorbed by later literature, purporting to be historical, and is occasionally enriched by new additions, although only in a small way, from legends outside that of the epic. These supplements and additions testify over and over again, by their legendary and mythical character, to their origin in popular folklore. But by this it must not be understood that they were taken directly from oral tradition. This is by no means impossible; but it was not necessarily the case, and varied perhaps in different instances. They could also very well have originated from written sources now no longer accessible to us.

I do not say that the development of the epic, as we see it in Ceylon, is typical. That cannot always be the same amongst various peoples and at various periods. But wherever the question of the epic is discussed, the *Dípavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* will always be invaluable analogies, above all for the Indian epic, but also for the epics of other nations. Their value lies in this, that we have not here to do with possibilities and hypothetical construction. We here can follow out actual development. Unfortunately the sources are no longer preserved, but they can be inferred. For this also we have fairly satisfactory material at our disposal. The epic itself lies before us in three stages of development, which we can distinguish from each other, and whose origin and growth we are able to watch.

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# THE DĪPAVAṂSA AND MAHĀVAṂSA.

## CHAPTER I.

*Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa in relation to one another.\**

### I.—The Composition of the Dīpavaṃsa.



THE Dīpavaṃsa,† the discussion of whose form I now enter upon, can hardly be called a production of artistic merit, in spite of its rather bombastic proem. It gives the impression, not of an evenly worked out whole, but rather of a stringing together of fragments, which are arranged in the manner I have just described. One finds therefore a clumsiness and an incorrectness of language and metre, and a number of other peculiarities which require to be specially referred to.

One of these peculiarities is that the same incident is often two or three times dealt with. I will give some examples of this.

After the death of Buddha, the First Council was held. The description of this Council is related in D. 4. 1–26, and again in 5, 1–15. The first of these descriptions has the fragmentary character which is commonly found in the D.; the second shows a somewhat more orderly and polished form. The chief difference between the two versions is, that in the second greater weight is put on the personality of Mahākassapa, who was the convener of the assembly. But the two versions are

---

\* I refer here to my essay "Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, die Chroniken der Insel Ceylon" (separate copies, A. Deichert (G. Böhme), Leipzig), appearing in the "Festschrift" of the Erlangen University on the celebration of the 80th birthday of H. R. H. the Prince Regent Luitpold of Bavaria, where I have already discussed some of the questions raised in the following paragraphs.

† "The Dīpavaṃsa : an Ancient Buddhist Historical Record," edited and translated by Hermann Oldenberg. London, 1879.

otherwise so similar that a number of verses are almost word for word alike, or at least there is extremely little variation between them.\*

In the same manner the story of the Second Council, which was occasioned by the heretical teachings of the Vajjiputta monks, is twice related in the D. (4, 47-53, and 5, 16-38). Again, the first version is more fragmentary, the second, in chapter 5, is better arranged and appears to be a development of the original idea. One of these lines of verse corresponds again word for word; it contains the names of theras or presbyters who were active at the refutation of the Vajjiputtas.† Also the names of the other theras mentioned in connection with the Second Council are identical in both versions, the order only being different. An important point however is here brought out. A piece of prose is inserted in the first version, a list of the "ten points of debate," over which the orthodox priests contended. This piece in the second version (5, 18) is in verse.

There are also two versions of the Third Council and its cause: 7, 34-43, and 7, 44-59. But the account shows greater differences. The second version also emphasizes a new fact, which is wanting in the first: the violent act of an official of King Asoka, which is more particularly described in M. 5, 240 *et seq.* One point is characteristic of the conventional treatment of the D., or rather of the whole tradition. The second version follows in certain details the description of the First Council, as it is found in 5, 1 *et seq.* Single verses are

\* Even the introductory words sound very similar, 4, 1-2 and 5, 1-3. The verses following on from these, viz., 4, 3-7 and 5, 7-11, are almost entirely the same, and finally 4, 13:—

*aggasantike gahetvá aggadhammá tathágatá ||*  
*agganikkhittaká therá aggaṃ akāṃsu saṅgahaṃ ||*  
*sabbo pi so theravádo aggavádo ti vuccati ||*

"The theras, who have received the first and perfect doctrine (*°mmam* and *°tam*) as the first recipients of it from the mouth of the first (among men, i.e., Buddha), gathered the first collection (of the Holy writings): this complete Theraváda, 'Canon of the Presbyters,' is therefore also called Aggaváda, First Canon,"

corresponds as minutely as possible with 5, 14:—

*aggassa santike aggaṃ gahetvá vákyam tathágatam |*  
*agganikkhittaká therá aggaṃ akāṃsu saṅgahaṃ ||*  
*tasmá hi so theravádo aggavádo ti vuccati ||*

† 4, 49b = 5, 22a:—

*Sabbakāṃti ca Sálho ca Revato Khujjasobhito.*



almost identical.\* The conventional phrases, which in such accounts are again and again made use of, are readily recognizable.

The story of the presents which King Asoka sent to Ceylon to King Devānampiyatissa with the invitation to accept Buddhism, is found in 11, 32-40, and, in a second version, in 12-17. In a recapitulation of the events at the time of the conversion of Ceylon in chapter 17 of the D., it occurs again for the third time. Verses in 17, 83-86 agree word for word with those in 12, 1-4.

I call attention also to the account, which is twice repeated, relating the call of Mahinda to his mission to Laṅkā. The two versions have a common introduction.† It is related here how the monks invite Mahinda to go to Laṅkā and to preach there the faith of the Buddha. But he imagined the time was not ripe for it, and betook himself to Vedisaḡiri on a visit to his mother. The two versions of the story now follow (12, 16-28 and 29-40), describing how the god Sakka (Indra) appears to Mahinda and commands him to set out on his journey. Here again single verses correspond, 26 with 39a and 24 with 34, where Mahinda, in almost the same words, makes known his plan to depart. It should be noticed also that again in the second version some prose is introduced (30-32).‡

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\* We can compare verse 7, 51 :—

*etasmim sannipātamhi therō Moggaliatrayo |  
satthukappo mahānāgo paṭhavyā n'atthi idiso ||*

with the analogous verse 5, 2 :—

*etasmim sannipātamhi therō Kassapasavhayo |  
satthukappo mahānāgo paṭhavyā n'atthi idiso ||*

and 7, 58 :—

*arahantanam sahasam uccintvāna nāyako |  
varam varam gahetvāna akāsi dhammasaṅgaham ||*

with 5, 3 :—

*arahan ānam pañcasatam uccinitvāna Kassapo |  
varam varam gahetvāna akāsi dhammasaṅgaham ||*

† This corrects my mistaken interpretation of D. and M., pp. 10-11, in the separate copy, where I wished to distinguish three versions.

‡ The closing passage of the entire episode should be noticed especially, as it is at present found in D. 12, 36-41a. The same verses, 36-37 and 40-41a, are repeated. The theras—in the second version it speaks only of Mahinda—arise into the air like swans and fly away from Jambudīpa, i.e., India, to alight on the Missaka mountain (Mihintale in Ceylon). This repetition shows that two versions must have been mixed up. I suppose that originally 36-37 form the conclusion of the first version of the whole story, and have their right place before 28. Here the words come appropriately : “ Let us be gone to the hill Missaka—the time is come, O honoured ones : the king has even now departed from the town, intent upon the chase.” It was indeed when he was hunting that he met Mahinda and heard his first sermon.

Finally, in the last chapter of the D., which for the most part is dry enumeration, the mixture of two versions can be proved. In 18, 45 to 19, 9 the kings from Mahásiva to Duṭṭhagámani are next dealt with. Thereafter the following sections correspond :—

19, 10	Saddhátissa	..	20, 1-7	Saddhátissa
			20, 8	Thúlathana
19, 11-13	Lajjitissa	..	20, 9-11	Lajjitissa
			20, 12-13	Khallátanága
19, 14-20	Vaṭṭagámani	..	20, 14-21	Vaṭṭagámani
19, 21-22	Mahátissa	..	20, 22-23	Mahátissa

The 19th chapter returns to the death of Duṭṭhagámani, whilst in the 20th chapter the history of the kings is continued. In chapter 22 we meet again with a double version, where in verses 12-26 and 27-33 the description is found of the Princes Vaṅkanásika to Kuñjanága (Kuḍḍanága in the M.). The second version restricts itself here entirely to a list of names and the reigns.\*

2. Other peculiarities in the composition of the D. are the gaps which it repeatedly shows, the abrupt combination of single episodes, the constant interchange of question and answer, without the speaker being named. But another characteristic is specially important, and over this I must for a moment digress. There is in the D. a whole series of verses containing only the main points of the story, arranged as mnemonics, often without proper construction. I describe these verses as *memory verses*† (Ger. “Memorialverse”), on grounds that will be apparent later.

An interesting example of such a *memory verse* is found in the D. 17, 3 *et seq.*, the story of the last four Buddhas, Kakusandha, Konágamana, Kassapa, and Gotama, and their visits to Ceylon. According to the legend, the events happened every time in the following manner.‡ The Island was visited by a certain plague. This induced the Buddha to go there. He descended on a mountain in the Island and freed the people, in the first place, from the plague. Then he preached to the princes and the people in the capital city. He received a

\* There are some more repetitions. The list of the heads of the order from Upáli to Mahinda, reiterated again and again, is interesting (4, 27 *seq.* ; 5, 55 *seq.* ; 76 *seq.* ; 83 *seq.* , 103 *seq.*). The enumeration is given in each case from a different point of view ; in spite of that, the same verses are repeated many times. For example, 5, 76-77 = 4, 27-28 (with the second and third lines transposed) ; 5, 78-79a = 4, 41 ; 5, 81 = 5, 69 ; 5, 83-84 = 4, 36 and 42 ; 5, 89-94 = 5, 103-107. Small variations occur.

† Compare my essay, D. and M., pp. 8-9. ‡ See M. 15, 51 *et seq.*

garden as a gift and planted there a branch of the tree sacred to him,\* which a nun had brought from India. As an object of worship the Buddha left relics behind him, which were preserved in a thūpa. On leaving the Island he elected one of his pupils as head of the newly founded community.

This is the course of events, except that with the name of the Buddha, the names of the Island, the king, and the principal city, &c., are altered. Under Kakusandha, for example, Ceylon was called Ojadīpa; under Konāgamana, Varadīpa; under Kassapa, Maṇḍadīpa; and under the historical Gotama Buddha it was named Laṅkādīpa or Tambapaṇṇi. Also the "plague," which was the cause of the Buddha's visit, was each time a different one; under the first Buddha it was an epidemic of fever which afflicted the Island; under the second, a bad drought; under the third, a war which had broken out between two princes of the land. Gotama Buddha came the first time to Ceylon in order to free the Island from the yakkhas, demoniacal beings who had taken possession of it. The second time, the war between the two Nāga kings, Mahodara and Cūlodara, was the reason of his visit.

The story of the visits of the (four) Buddhas to Ceylon begins in the D. with this remarkable verse:—

"The island, the town and the king, the plague and the relics, the tope, the island and the mountain, the garden, the Bo-tree, the nun, the monk, and the best of the Buddhas; these are indeed the thirteen (subjects)." (17, 3.)†

This is obviously a kind of mnemonic, which at the beginning enumerates all the events coming under notice in the story.

\* As Gotama Buddha attained enlightenment and therewith Buddhahood whilst sitting under an Assattha tree (*Ficus religiosa*), so also it happened with his three predecessors. The sacred tree of Kakusandha was a Sirīsa (*Acacia sirissa*), that of Konāgamana an Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*), that of Kassapa a Nigrodha (*Ficus indica*). See D. 17, 73-74, where the names of the trees are enumerated in two apparently quite independent verses.

† *dīpaṃ puraṇ ca rājā ca upaddutaṇ ca dhātuyo |*  
*thūpaṃ dīpaṇ ca pabbataṃ uyyānaṃ bodhī bhikkhuni |*  
*bhikkhu ca buddhassettho ca terasa honti te taṃ ||*

In b, *dīpaṇ* naturally cannot be correct. After 12-13 one expects a word such as "river" or "tank," thereby fixing more definitely the position of the town. Oldenberg suggests *dahan*. The story of the visits of the last four Buddhas is also found in D. 15, 34-42, 43-53, 54-64, 65-73. Here again we meet with *memory verses*. For example, 38:—

*Kakusandho Mahāthero Devakūto ca pabbato |*  
*Ojadīpe 'bhayaṇpure Abhaya nāma khattīyo ||*

and analogous to this is verse 48 and verse 60, about Konāgamana and Kassapa.

The text then continues, pointing out the separate objects of the list, one after the other : "The beautiful island of Laṇḍá is called Ojadípa, Varadípa, Maṇḍadípa; it is also named Tambapaṇṇi. Abhayapura, Vaddhamána, Visála, Anurádhapura are the names of the four towns contemporaneous with the preaching of the four Buddhas," &c. The names of the four kings then follow in verse 7, in verse 8 the enumeration of the plagues, in verse 9 that of the relics, in verse 11 the topes, in 12-13 the names of the river and tank on which the capital town at that time was situated, in 14 that of the sacred mountain, in 15 that of the garden, in 16-24 that of the sacred trees and of the nuns who brought the branches, in 25 that of the monks who founded the religion of Buddha. It is only a list of names, raw material for the story, no complete history in itself. But from verse 26 and onwards the story of the first Buddha, Kakusandha, proceeds in regular sequence and systematic order.

*Memory verses* are further found in D. 19, 2-3, where the materials employed at the foundation of the great tope at Anurádhapura (Maháthúpa, now Ruanveli Dágoba) are enumerated. How they were made use of is not mentioned. The description is completed in M. 29, 1 *et seq.* A list of names then follows, in D. 19, 5-7, of those priests who had come over from India for the festival of the laying of the foundation stone; this corresponds with M. 29 *et seq.* Another list of twelve theras is found in verse 8 without more detailed reference being made to them. We have here therefore to do with a *memory verse*. The explanation in this case is given in the Thúpavaṃsa.\* The above-mentioned twelve theras are enumerated, and it says of them that they had their place in the immediate neighbourhood of the king at the ceremonies, in the centre of the circle of invited guests, at the same place, which in M. 29, 48 is designated *punnaghaṭṭhánam*, "the place of the filled chalice."

Finally I point out the remarkable *memory verse* in D. 1, 29 : "The throne, the animisa (sanctuary), the cloisters, the jewel house, the Ajapála (tree), and the Mucalinda (tree), together with the Khirapála (grove) as the seventh."

This verse refers to what happened immediately after the enlightenment.† It is found in the D. after the statement

\* PThv. 59, 1-5, 18-21; SThv. 156, 5-16; 156, 35; 157, 6. Compare MT. 379, 2 to 381, 17. Also the *memory verse* found in D. 19, 9 is explained in the MT. 382, 19-35 = PThv. 59, 21 *et seq.*; SThv. 157, 6 *et seq.* Compare 19 further on.

† MV. 1, 2 *et seq.*; JNk., p. 77 *et seq.* Compare Kern, "Manual of Indian Buddhism," p. 21 *et seq.*

concerning the latter, and before the story of the first preaching in Benares, and fills up an existing gap, although only in the form of a table of contents.

3. What conclusions do we arrive at from the peculiarities in the composition of the D. ? In the first place it is perfectly clear that the D. represents an extremely primitive stage of the epic. If, for example, two independent versions of the same story are found beside each other, we may regard it as the outcome of an originally verbal tradition. Such versions as the D. shows can only be understood if we suppose that certain expressions and verses were fixed for the relater of any particular story by the regular custom of predecessors, but that the representation of the other parts was left to their imagination. Thus it happens that as we approach the period of the decline of oral tradition, the same stories show many variants, together with many examples of identity of language. Still we must be careful not to suppose that the D. itself is the actual expression of this oral tradition. It is much more likely that the author made use of a written source or sources, which on their part however bear the marks of the original oral tradition. The possibility is that the D. arranged together different versions from different sources, or that this had already taken place. The suggestion, however, that perhaps the authors did not realise that only variants of the same story were being dealt with, is quite out of the question. The compilation must have been done with a purpose : it was intended to keep the various traditions as more or less authorized, and to hand them on further.

We can determine still more closely the nature of the composition of the D. It is very similar in form to the ancient Akhyāna poetry of India.\* The characteristic feature of this poetry, out of which the epic evolved, lies in this, that the entire story is not yet established in a form, but only certain parts are metrically fixed and thereby are secured from further departure from the tradition. Such parts especially were passages of direct narration. One must remember that they were bound together by a tale in prose which was left to the judgment of the one who told the story, the actual words of which therefore were not settled. In this prose story the situation was described and the names of the people told. If these connecting links were given in verse, then poems in

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\* Windisch, *Verhandlungen der Geraer Philologenversammlung*, p. 28 ; d. Mara and Buddha, p. 222 *et seq.* Oldenberg, *Das altindische Akhyāna*, ZDMG. 37, p. 54 *et seq.*, esp. p. 79 ; Akhyāna-Hymnen im Rigveda, ZDMG. 39, p. 52 *et seq.* Compare Geldner in Pischel und G., *Vedische Studien I.*, p. 284 *et seq.*

ballad form were produced, such as those which form the primary elements of an epic. The oldest epics therefore are found to contain a great proportion of direct narration, while those of later development on the other hand give description of events.

Rhys Davids\* correctly points out that these different stages of development in the Akhyāna poetry are to be found in the canonical books of the Buddhists. In the Thera and Therí Gáthás the speeches only are preserved; a commentary must be used for the framework of the story, without which certain *gáthás* would often be unintelligible. In the Suttantas of the second book of the Dígha-Nikāya, both the speeches in verse and the story in prose are part of the canonical text. Finally we have ballads in which the story is handed down in metrical form. With these we stand on the threshold of true epic poetry.

In the D. we are reminded of these first steps of the epic poem. It is not yet a perfect epic, although single episodes, such as, *e.g.*, the visit of Kakusandha to Ceylon, are elaborated into the manner of ballads. Several passages can only be understood if we assume that a prose narration binds the single metrical parts or fragments together. *Memory verses* are inserted as a help in such places, in which the separate subjects only are enumerated that are to be used in the presupposed prose narration. The combination of prose and verse is met with twice.†

Now we can understand why in the D., as I have already suggested above, so many dialogues are found with no mention of the speakers' names. For example, in the story of the expulsion of the Yakkhas from Ceylon in D. 1, the Buddha speaks in verse 55, verse 56 gives the Yakkha's answer, and in 57 the Buddha speaks again. In D. 11, 28 the request of King Devānampiyatissa to his nephew Ariṭṭha, to undertake the journey to Jambudīpa to King Asoka, abruptly occurs without even mentioning who is spoken to. In D. 13, 2 King Devānampiyatissa speaks first, in 3 the answer is given by people standing near him, in 4 the king speaks again. D. 13, 16-18 is a dialogue between Devānampiyatissa and Mahinda, in which the king speaks first, then the monk, then again the king. A discussion between the same characters is found in D. 14, 21-28a and 14, 61-65.

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\* "Buddhist India," p. 182.

† D. 4, 47 (*cf.* above, p. 5) and 12, 30-33. In the last case the account of the call of Mahinda by Sakka is in the main written in prose, but begins and ends in verse.

In all these cases the speaker is not once named, or at most only the one beginning the discourse. It was originally supposed that the reciter united the several speeches by explanatory words, in which he made clear to his hearers the situation and the characters.

But otherwise in many places the account of the D. is only to be understood when the commentator's words are read into it. In D. 5, 55-59 a prophecy about Moggaliputta, the president of the Third Council, is found, without it being said by whom and on what occasion the prophecy was made. From M. 5, 98 *et seq.* we learn that there were priests of the Second Council who after its conclusion foresaw the coming decline of the teachings of the Buddha and the re-establishment of the faith by Moggaliputta. It is told in the story of the conversion of Devānampiyatissa, D. 12, how Mahinda, after the king had returned from the Missaka hill to the capital city of Anurādhapura, consecrated the layman Bhaṇḍuka, one of his followers. Then follows without any intervention verse 64 : "The therā, standing on the top of the hill, spoke to the chariot driver : No, a chariot is not permitted ; the Holy One has forbidden it." This can only be understood if there is added, according to M. 14, 42, that in the meantime the night is past and the king sends his charioteer in the morning to the Missaka hill in order to bring Mahinda and his followers into the town.

In D. 15 it is related how a tope was erected over relics which had been brought to Ceylon by Sumana. Upon that follows, in verses 34-73, the story of the last four Buddhas and their visits to Ceylon—nothing is given by way of introduction. In order to understand the context, the whole of the following incident must be added, that Mahinda brings to the king's notice, that the spot where the tope was built was already consecrated through the influence of the Buddhas.\*

The meaning of the expression *memory verses* is now explained clearly and my chosen designation justified. They lead us to the stage of development of the Akhyāna poetry. With their help the one reciting holds in readiness in his memory the material essential for any recounting of the story. In this way, for example, he was able, according to the

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\* Many verses in the D. are impossible to understand without a commentary, or at least their true meaning can only be understood by means of one. Thus, *e.g.*, in 2, 17-18 (= M. 1, 52-57), the legend of Samiddhi is told. The explanation of who Samiddhi was is left to the oral version of the reciter. The same can be said of D. 2, 29 (= M. 1, 48 *et seq.*), D. 6, 13 (= M. 5, 89-97), D. 7, 49 (= M. 5, 238 *et seq.*), and of other places.

statements in 1, 29 (v. p. 10), to relate, one after the other, the whole of the events of the life of the Buddha which happened between the night of his enlightenment and the first sermon at Benares. without running the risk of forgetting. But I do not therefore mean to say that the D. was a kind of handbook for rhapsodists reciting the history of Ceylon. In this respect the D. is only a reflex of its source or sources, and in its form there are still traces of former rhapsodic delivery.

## II.—A Comparison of the Mahāvam̐sa and Dīpavam̐sa.

I have already said that the M.\* and D. were not only in agreement with regard to the matter contained in each, but also with regard to the order in which this matter was arranged. This is to be seen in the smallest details, so that the supposition of a purely accidental coincidence seems quite out of the question. As there is no doubt that the M. is younger than the D., two suppositions only are possible : either the M. has borrowed its material and arrangement from the D., or else both the M. and the D. have borrowed from the same sources, either directly or indirectly. The latter supposition is, as we shall see, the correct one.

Only in two not very important examples does the arrangement of material in the M. differ from that in the D. The statement about the sending out of Buddhist missionaries comes in the D. after the history of the Third Council (8, 1 *et seq.*). It was at this Council that the resolution was determined upon. It must have been only a matter of taste that persuaded the author of the M. to put the account before the story of Mahinda's mission (12, 1 *et seq.* = D. 12, 8 *et seq.*). He evidently did not wish to separate this mission from the other missions, among which it was certainly the most important.

The matter in the second case, concerning the story of the visit of the Buddha to Laṅkā, is somewhat different. In the M. (15, 51 *et seq.*) the story is told by Mahinda when he fixed the place for the future Great Tope. The account occurs twice in the D., first with reference to the building of the Thūpārāma (15, 34 *et seq.*) and then again after the story of the bringing over of the sacred Bo-tree

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\* The Mahāvam̐so. in Roman characters, with the Translation subjoined. . . . . vol. I., by G. Turnour, Ceylon. 1837 : The Mahāvam̐sa. from first to thirty-sixth chapter, rev. . . . . by H. Sumangala and D. A. de S. Batuwantudāwe, Colombo, 1883 : The Mahāvam̐sa, part II., translated by Wijesinha, to which is prefixed the Translation of the first part by Turnour, Colombo, 1889.



(17, 1 *et seq.*). There seems here to be a difference in the tradition, which is supported by the repetition in the D.\* The account harmonizes in that it allows Mahinda to tell the tale, but it is completely at variance with regard to the occasion on which it happened. The M. follows here, for once, a tradition, although in a minor matter, which does not occur in the D.

The similarity between the M. and D. is not only confined to the material and the arrangement of the same, but is also carried out in minute details. Quite a large number of verses in both epics are exactly similar.† Especially in the last chapter of the D. many identical verses are found.‡ M. 11, 28–29, in comparison with D. 11, 32–33, is very interesting, and also 12, 1–2 with 17, 83. The text of the M. here shows the influence of both versions of the D : M. 11, 28 = D. 12, 1 and 17, 83. M. 11, 29a = D. 11, 33b.

A number of other verses correspond very nearly, but not so exactly. But they are so alike that it is impossible to account for their similarity by mere coincidence.§

\* The Smp. 340, 32 *et seq.*, mentions the episode with reference to the story of the bringing over of the Bo-tree; it follows thus the second version of the D.

† I have noted the following: D. 12, 4a = M. 11, 31b. D. 12, 5 = M. 11, 34; D. 12, 51bc = M. 14, 8; D. 12, 61b = M. 14, 26b; D. 14, 28b, 29a = M. 15, 192; D. 14, 29b = M. 15, 193a; D. 14, 30b = M. 15, 194a.

‡ Thus, D. 20, 20–21 = M. 33, 102b–104a; D. 20, 23–24a = M. 34, 10–11a; D. 21, 35b = M. 35, 2a; D. 21, 41b–42a = M. 35, 15; D. 22, 7–9a = M. 35, 94–96a (the names of the different tanks which are enumerated at this place differ greatly from one another in the two epics); D. 22, 21b = M. 36, 4a; D. 22, 28 = M. 35, 115; D. 22, 29 = M. 35, 123; D. 22, 30 = M. 36, 1; D. 22, 31 = M. 36, 6; D. 22, 32–33 = M. 36, 18–19; D. 22, 51 = M. 36, 57; D. 22, 56a = M. 36, 105a; D. 22, 66 = M. 37, 1.

§ We have only to compare, e.g., M. 17, 10–12 :—

*ehi tvam, bhadra Sumana, gantvā Pupphapuraṃ varam, |*  
*ayyakan te mahārājaṃ evaṃ no vacānaṃ vada : ||*  
*sahāyo te, mahārāja, mahārāja Maruppiyo ||*  
*pasanno buddhasamaye thūpaṃ kāretum icchati, |*  
*munino dhātuyo dehi....*

with the corresponding place in the D. 15, 6–7 :—

*ehi tvam, Sumaṇa nāga, Pāṭaliputtapuraṃ gantvā |*  
*Asokaṃ dham, arājānaṃ, evaṃ cārocayāhi tvam : ||*  
*sahāyo te, mahārāja, pasanno buddhasāsane : |*  
*dehi dhātuvarapaṃ tassa, thūpaṃ kāhati satthuno. ||*

Other verses of this type are: M. 4, 57 — D. 4, 49b, 5, 22; M. 5, 32 *et seq.* — D. 6, 11 *et seq.*; M. 5, 230b = D. 7, 35a; M. 11, 14 = D. 11, 18; M. 11, 19 = D. 11, 25; M. 14, 14 = D. 12, 56; M. 33, 12 = D. 20, 3; M. 33, 13 = D. 20, 7; M. 33, 34 = D. 20, 14.

In all these cases two suppositions must be considered, either that the author of the M. adopted these verses unchanged, or with little alteration from the D., or that they were to be found in older sources. For some of the verses the first suggestion is at all events worth consideration. That the D. was known to the author of the M. is quite certain, and it is not at all unlikely that he, here and there, borrowed from it, considering the Indian's way of working in such cases. But in other verses we decidedly get the impression that they were officially stamped by tradition, and therefore the words were fixed in the same way for the author of the D. as for the author of the M. This in my opinion must be assumed, for instance, for the words with which Asoka imparts to Devánampiyatissa the fact that he had accepted the teachings of the Buddha (D. 12, 5 — M. 11, 34) :—

“ I have taken refuge in the Buddha, in the law, and in the priesthood ; I have declared myself as belonging to the laity of the church of the son of Sakya.”\*

Or for the words with which Mahinda announces his mission to Devánampiyatissa on the Missaka hill (D. 12, 51 — M. 14, 8) :—

“ We are monks, O Mahárāja, disciples of the Lord of the True Faith. Out of pity for thee are we come hither from Jambudípa.”†

Or, lastly, for the important section in which is given the first written account of the holy writings under King Vaṭṭa-gámani (D. 20, 20–21 — M. 33, 102b–104a) : —

“ The text of the Tipiṭaka and its commentary, the learned priests in early times handed down by word of mouth. But on perceiving that men were becoming evil, the priests assembled together and wrote down the teaching in books, so that it should last for ever.”‡

5. In spite of all these similarities the M. is separated by a deep gulf from the D. The composition of the D. is inartistic and clumsy. The M. is a work of art, a *kāvya*, according to the standard of Indian poetry. The author is

\* *Aham buddhañ ca dhammañ ca sañghañ ca saraṇaṃ gato, | upāsakattaṃ desesiṃ Sakyaputtassa sāsane. ||*

† *Samaṇa mayam, mahárāja, dhammarájassa sāvaka, | tav' eva anukampāya Jambudípa í hágatá. ||*

‡ *Piṭakattaya páliñ ca tassá aññakathañ ca tam | mukhapáthena ánesum p' bbe bhikkhú mahámati. || hánim dísvána sattánaṃ tadá bhikkhú samágatá | ciraññhi' atthaṃ dhammaṃ potthakesu líkhāpayum. ||*

fully convinced of it himself, and wishes his poem to be recognized as a work of art. This he makes quite clear in his proem (1, 1-4):—

“After worshipping the supreme Buddha, the altogether pure, sprung from an illustrious race, I write the Mahāvamsa, consisting of various uninterrupted sections. This (the Mahāvamsa), composed by the ancients, is in many places too diffuse, in others too concise, also many repetitions occur. Listen now to this of mine, that which is free from such faults, which is easy to understand and easy to remember, that which has been handed down by tradition, calling forth feelings of pleasure and pain; that which calls forth feelings of pleasure and pain in those places where pleasure and pain are spoken of.”

Of the importance of this proem enough cannot be said. The author here commends his work, which has found in himself the adequate expression of the feeling of his day. He puts himself into conscious opposition with older works of the same type, which he reproaches with many mistakes, above all with inequality of representation. These faults he seeks to avoid in his own work. But even this new M. puts forward the claim that its contents rest upon oral tradition,\* *i.e.*, that the author has not collected fresh material, but simply renders the tradition in a better form than is found in the works of the ancients.

One might be inclined to think that the proem of the M. refers directly to the D.† in which, it is true, the fault complained of, that of irregular representation, appears. The words “free from such faults” would look like a slight mockery of the self-conscious saying, “without faults,”‡ which is found in the proem of D. 3. In reality our M. means, as we shall see, by the “Mahāvamsa of the ancients,” the original work, upon which it, as well as the D., is founded. And therefore the reproach raised against it applies to the D. as well, because it (the D.) reproduces the original work with more slavish faithfulness, and its proem is also taken word for word from it.

The M. compared with the D. has every claim to be regarded as a work of art. The story proceeds in it in a logical manner,

\* *Sutitō cā upāgaṭaṃ*. In the proem of the D. we have corresponding to this, *vamsaṃ paramparāgaṭaṃ* in 4, and *ariyāgaṭaṃ* (Oldenberg: “handed down by Saints”) in 5. It is of interest to compare the rather bombastic and vainglorious proem of the D. with that of the far simpler and more unpretending M. Such moderation bespeaks the poet

† Oldenberg, D. Introd., p. 9, has tentatively spoken of this.

‡ *Vajjitāṃ tehi dosehī—niddosaṃ*.

without inconvenient breaks or repetitions. It runs parallel with the D. at times in such a way that whole episodes in both epics are evidently two different versifications of the same material.\* But the M. amplifies and supplements the D., or else represents the subject in a more concise manner. The greater ability shown in the handling of speech and metre in the M. in contrast to the D. has been referred to. Also the niceties of diction, especially the play upon words,† is more evident in the M. than in the D. To sum up, we notice everywhere in the M. the hand of a poet, working deliberately, lingering over his material, and endeavouring to clothe it in suitable form. "The M. is a work of art, created by a man who well deserves the name of poet, and who moulds the variety of unmanageable material, not perhaps with genius, but with taste and skill."‡

I must here add a word on the conclusion of the M. Our manuscripts have after 37, 50 the words "*Mahāvamsa nīṭṭhito*." The *Ṭikā* also does not proceed further. Further, the final verse of the M. corresponds to the last *sloka* but one of the D. 22, 75. These reasons alone are of enough weight to prove that the original work ended really with this verse, and that the remaining part of 37, as well as the following chapters, originated from a later writer. An observation of the language employed confirms this supposition. In the verses after 37, several words are found which do not appear in the older M.§ Finally I refer to 37, 73, where the *Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa* is mentioned, whose subject is the history of the sacred tooth relic. If this is the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, still extant, which seems to me probable, and not its Sinhalese prototype, then the second half, after M. 37, must have been written after the year 1219.

\* This is true, for example, in M. 15, 1 *et seq.* = D. 13, 10, and other places in the Mahinda legend, especially M. 14, 1 *seq.* = D. 12, 45 *seq.* In other parts the version of the M. is more spontaneous when compared with the D. This is seen in the account of the First Council (M. 3 *et seq.* with D. 4, 1 *seq.*; 5, 1 *seq.*), in the Nigrodha episode (M. 5, 36 *seq.* with D. 6, 24 *seq.*), and other places.

† Nearly every page of the M. offers examples. I will only refer to 1, 25 and the play on the words *bhaya* and *abhaya*, to 1, 43 (*Uruvelā* and *uruvira*), 1, 76 (*sagaṇo sagaṇam jīnam*), 3, 14 (in one place *sukkapakkha* means "bright half of the month," in another "the company of the devout"), &c. We find an alliteration in M. 34, 46 (*saddhim sandhāya sādhuṭṭham*); a rhyme in M. 5, 110b and 111a.

‡ The author, D. and M., p. 24.

§ Thus *vāyamatī* in 56, *vaṇṇibbaka* in 76, *paribbaya* in 88, *ubbhava* EC. in 94. Also *Sihala*, as the name for the Island (in 62), is foreign to the older M.

By the continuation of the old M. the original conclusion must have suffered a slight alteration. At the end of every chapter there is a stanza containing a sentence common to each. It is very certain that originally a stanza of similar character was to be found at the end of the whole work. We can perhaps imagine what the contents of this last sentence would have been. It was already existing in the original work, and from this passed on to the D., whose last śloka (22, 76) it forms. Probably it was clothed in a more elaborate form in the M. The author who continues the M. has put the last two verses of the D. at the head of his poem and thereby bound it and the old epic together :—

*Asādhusaṅgamen' evaṃ yāvajivam subhāsubham ||  
katvā gato yathākamman so Mahāsenabhūpati : ||  
tasmā asādhusaṃsaggam ārakā parivajjiya ||  
ahim vāsivisaṃ khippaṃ kareyy' attahitaṃ budho\* ||*

6. But there exist besides differences in form, also important differences in the subject matter of the M. and D. The action of the M. moves within the same framework as that of the D., but inside this framework the M. introduces a not insignificant amount of new material. Much of this is mentioned shortly in the D., but much is also completely wanting.

If we turn our attention to the composition of the M. as a whole, we find that it is divided distinctly into two principal parts. The first part finishes at chapter XX., and is divided again into two subdivisions, chapters I.-X. and XI.-XX. The centre of interest lies in the second subdivision, which comprises the story of Devānampiyatissa and the conversion of Ceylon. The preceding ten chapters form a kind of double introduction, viz., chapters I.-V., the story of Buddhism in India to Mahinda's time, and chapters VI.-X., the previous history of the Sinhalese dynasty from Vijaya.

The second part of the M. begins in chapter XXI. with the ascent to the throne of Mahāsiva ; in length this is nearly equal to the first part. In the D. we have reached Mahāsiva at 18, 45, and what follows comprises only 192 verses more. This disproportion is explained by the fact that in the second part of the M. a fresh subject presses into the foreground, viz., the story of King Duṭṭhagāmani. The "Duṭṭhagāmani epic," as we may suitably call it, becomes an entirely independent poem, comprising chapters XXII.-XXXII. ;

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\* In our D. the line is, *ahim vāsivisaṃ vāsi* (Oldenberg : conj. *vāsi*) *kareyy' attahitaṃ bhavē.*

while in the D. only thirteen verses in all are devoted to this king.\*

It is wonderful how loosely the Duṭṭhagāmani episode is fitted into the continuity of the whole. Chapter XXII. begins with the words :—

“After he had killed Elāra, Duṭṭhagāmani became king,” and then continues :—

“The account of the order (of events) is to explain this according to the following.”†

And then the author goes back. Duṭṭhagāmani is the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa. The latter is descended, in the third generation, from a younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, Mahānāga, who had founded a dynasty in Rohaṇa, in the south-east part of Ceylon, under romantic circumstances. Chapters XXIII. and XXIV. then relate of the youth of Duṭṭhagāmani, of his elephant Kaṇḍula and his ten heroes, and of the war between him and his brother Tissa after his father's death. Duṭṭhagāmani is victorious. He and his brother are reconciled, he assumes the Government, and then begins a long planned war of revenge against the Damiḷa, who have taken possession of the northern half of the Island and the capital city of Anurādhapura. The whole of chapter XXV. is devoted to this war. Duṭṭhagāmani takes possession first of a number of outlying forts, then seizes the fortified town of Vijita, and defeats Elāra not far from Anurādhapura. The leader of the Damiḷa falls in the conflict by Duṭṭhagāmani's own hand.‡

After another victory over Bhalluka, an ally of Elāra who had hastened to assist him, Duṭṭhagāmani reunites the Government of the whole of Laṅkā under himself at Anurādhapura. We must now notice a section in the Duṭṭhagāmani epic.

Hitherto only the warrior hero has been depicted, and that in a style truly epic and popular. I do not hesitate to say

\* The numerical proportion is really striking. The first part of the M. contains in all 1,511 verses, of which 709 fall to the share of the Mahinda episode, 802 to the two introductions. The D. up to 18. 45 contains 1,153 verses. The remaining 192 verses of the D. correspond to the 1,404 verses in the second part of the M. Of these, 861 are the Duṭṭhagāmani epic, which surpasses even the Mahinda episode in length. Duṭṭhagāmani plays the same part in the older M. as Parakkamabāhu in the later. (See Copleston, *The Epic of Parakrama*. JRAS. C.B., No. 44, 1893, p. 60.)

† *Elāram ghātayitvāna rājāhu Duṭṭhagāmani |  
tadattathadīpanatthāya anupubbakathā ayaṃ ||*

‡ This conflict is a very favourite theme of Sinhalese artists. It is found as one of the wall paintings in the largest of the five rock temples at Dambulla, the so-called Mahāvihāra. Compare Burrows' "Buried Cities of Ceylon," p. 25.

that this chapter is the most thrilling in the whole of the M. In parts, as for instance the description of the storm over Vijita, the representation has even a certain grandeur. A stream of popular tradition is here united with the priestly tradition, which predominates in the entire D. and also in most parts of the rest of the M. In the intoned recitations of the monks, glorifying the Buddha, his teachings, and his followers, the poetry of noble warriors combines with the clash of weapons and the noise of battle.

But priestly tradition has seized the figure of the popular warrior and made him a hero of the faith. The great swordsman who united the kingdom of Laṅkā had naturally to be surrounded by the halo of a patron of the Buddhist faith, and to be a devoted admirer of the priestly community.\*

The transition from the first to the second part of the Duṭṭhagāmani episode is characteristic. At the end of chapter XXV. it is told how the king is sitting in his palace, but in spite of all his success he feels deeply unhappy at the thought of the streams of blood he has shed. He afterwards atones for his misdeeds by pious works. Chapter XXVI. describes the building and solemn dedication of the Maricavaṭṭi Tope,† and of the monastery belonging thereto; chapter XXVII. the building of the dwelling for the priests, called the Lohapāsāda, "the brazen palace." Then follows in chapters XXVIII.-XXXI., in great detail, the history of the Mahāthūpa, "the Great Tope," including the preliminary works, the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone, the commencement of the building, the construction of the relic shrine,‡ which was especially artistically decorated, and the collection and entombment of the relics. Before the completion of the great tope Duṭṭhagāmani fell sick. His death is described in chapter XXXII., not without poetical inspiration.

Such are the contents of the Duṭṭhagāmani episode. The substance of it was known at the time of the D. In the few verses which are dedicated to King Duṭṭhagāmani in the

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\* We should notice also the undoubted popular name of Duṭṭhagāmani, "the wicked Gāmani," which suits the unruly warrior, rising to the throne over blood and dead men, far better than the founder of monasteries and the builder of dāgobas. The attempted explanation of the name in M. 24, 7 is weak.

† Now the Mirisveṭi Dāgoba at Anurādhapura. See Smither, "Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura," p. 19 *et seq.*, plates XIV.-XXI.

‡ *Dhātugabbha*, the cell-like room in the centre of the otherwise massive tope which serves as a receptacle for the relics. The description of the decoration of this room, as well as that of the Lohapāsāda in XXVII., is of interest. It reminds us of similar passages in Homer, as, for example, the celebrated description of the shield of Achilles.

D. the chief points of his history are mentioned. The ten heroes, the elephant Kaṇḍala, the defeat of the thirty-two kings are referred to in 18, 53-54; in 19, 1 the building of the Lohapāsāda, and in 19, 23 the wonderful death of the king. We can gather from the memory verses in 19, 2-9 that the erection of the Great Tope by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and incidentally the festival of the laying of the foundation stone, agreeing with the M. even in the details, must have been known to the compiler of the D.

It is perhaps probable that the D. and M. differ also in their purpose. The former renders only the priestly tradition: the popular tradition, which runs side by side with it, does not enter into it at all, or very little. Its interest is practically confined to the Mahinda episode. It does not concern itself in the slightest with the glorification of the warrior Gāmaṇi, but more with him as the patron of the church. But in the M. the stream of popular epic is mingled with the tradition of priestcraft. How far this condition of things was present in the character of the sources to which the M. and D. go back will be discussed later.

7. Besides the great Duṭṭhagāmaṇi epic, the M. contains in the second part a number of shorter episodes, which the D. either does not mention at all or at most only in a few words. But if we examine these episodes, they fully bear out the conclusions we have arrived at from the character and contents of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi epic. They also demonstrate the fact that in the M. popular elements press in which are foreign to the D., or at least far removed. These episodes are either of the kind treating of secular politics, or they are anecdotes, stories, tales, and legends, just as may be found in the popular literature of other peoples. Investigators into the comparison of legends and tales, seeking after analogies in the Pāli epics, may be compelled to take them almost exclusively from those episodes which are specially peculiar to the M.

It would lead too far were I to enumerate the whole of the episodes coming under our notice, and relate their contents. I will take only the more important ones, namely, those that offer some points of comparison, and refer shortly to the others.

The first half of the M., as already mentioned, is relatively poor in such episodes.\* Nevertheless, the story of the youth

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\* It is owing to the greater interest in secular politics, which is more pronounced in the M. than in the D., that the genealogy of the Indian kings from Ajātasattu to Kālāsoka and from the latter to Phammāsoka is continued (M. 4, 1 *et seq.*; 5, 14 *et seq.*).



of Nigrodha (M. 5, 43-63) is an Indian tale of true popular character. The D. only knows the monk Nigrodha as the one who converted Asoka; it gives no history of his descent and early life. According to the M. he was the son of Prince Sumana, who was killed by Asoka; and his wife, then with child, fled to a Caṇḍāla village, and there, guarded by the nymphs (*devatā*) of a Nigrodha tree, gave birth to the child. In the Nigrodha episode is inserted (50*b et seq.*) the story of the three honey dealers, bearing very much the character of a *Jātaka*, or birth story. It explains the affection which Asoka feels for the monk, by the connection which both had already had together in an earlier existence. The story is so loosely fitted in that it can easily be taken away without disturbing the sequence at all.

A good subject for a romance is found in the episode of Prince Tissa (M. 5, 155*b et seq.*). He once asked King Asoka why monks renounce all pleasure in life. In order to instruct him the king gave over the kingship to him for seven days. But at the conclusion of that time he was to be put to death. When the week had passed and Tissa appeared before the king, the latter asked him why he had become so thin. Tissa answered, from fear of death. The king then pointed out that just as he, because of the thought of approaching death, had no pleasure even in kingship, so the monks who have always before them the thought of death and the transitoriness of things, must be oblivious to the pleasures of the world. Tissa thereupon believed.\*

The story of Vijaya and the witch Kuveṇi is purely legendary (M. 7, 9*b et seq.*). When Vijaya comes to Laṅkā with his followers, the Island is inhabited by Yakkhas. A Yakkhiṇī in the disguise of a bitch entices Vijaya's comrades to follow her, and leads them to her mistress Kuveṇi, who bewitches them and banishes them into an underground hole. At last Vijaya sets out to seek his vanished friends. He meets Kuveṇi, but withstands her witchcraft, and forces her with drawn sword to set free his imprisoned companions.† Kuveṇi

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\* There is an analogy to this story in the history of Kathāsaritśāgara, chapter 27 (Tawney, I., 235). The idea that the thought of impending death embitters all joy is at the bottom of the parable of the "sword of Damocles." Cicero, Tuscul. 5, 61; Horace, Carm. 3, 1, 17. Compare also Gesta Romanorum, 143.

† Turnour (The Mahāvayso, Introduction, p. xlv.) has already remarked on the striking similarity between this tale and the story of Kirke in Homer's Odyssey. In the Kuveṇi saga are also found other legendary motifs appearing in other sources. Thus, for instance, it is related in Rajāv. 16, 24 that the Yakkhiṇī, when she assisted Vijaya in the destruction of the Yakkhas, took the form of a mare (*velaṭṭha peṇ*

becomes Vijaya's wife, helps him to banish the Yakkhas from Laṅkā, but in the end is cast off by him.

Excellent material for a story is found from M. 9, 13 onwards in the history of Princess Ummādacittā. She was locked up in the palace because it had been prophesied that her son would kill his mother's brother and seize the crown for himself. In spite of every precaution, Dīghagāmani contrived to get through to her, and to enjoy her love.\* She managed to hide in safety the boy whom she bore. The uncles later learnt of his existence. They had all the boys of the village killed where he, as they thought, was being fostered,—a slaughter of the innocents of Bethlehem in Ceylon history,—the youthful Paṇḍukābhaya was the only one who hid himself, and thereby escaped the massacre. The D. 10, 4, 8-9 contains some indication that the story was known to it: "Her youngest child was a girl named Cittā. She filled with love all men who beheld her; therefore she was called Ummādacittā.....The learned son of Dīghāvu, the clever Gāmani, carried on love intrigues with the Princess Cittā while he was serving under Paṇḍuvāsa. In consequence of this intercourse a prince named Paṇḍuka was born. In order to safeguard him he was sent to the district of Dovārika."†

The story of the just deeds of the Daṃḍa Prince Elāra, the predecessor of the great Duṭṭhagāmani, is of more general interest (M. 21, 15 *et seq.*). He had a bell fastened over his

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*mavāgeṇa*). That is a true folklore feature. Witches in disguise of mares are also mentioned in Kathāsaritśāgara 37, tale 3 (Tawney, I., p. 343), as well as in M. 10, 53 *et seq.*, in the story of the youth of Paṇḍukābhaya, whom a Yakkhiṇī serves as a war horse in the disguise of a mare. Finally from the same source, Rājāv. 15, 31 *et seq.*, Kuveṇī is related as having three breasts. It was prophesied of her that the third breast would disappear when her husband came. When Vijaya came the prophecy was fulfilled, and she recognized from that that the stranger was destined to be her husband. Compare with this story the remarks of Benfey's, *Pantschatantra* 1, 510 *et seq.* In the D. the name of Kuveṇī is not even mentioned.

\* A parallel to this tale is, as Hardy (Idg. F., Anzeiger, 13, 28) rightly remarks, the story of Devagabbhā and her love union with Upasāgara in the Ghata Jātaka (Fausböll, IV., p. 79 *et seq.*). The reason given for the imprisonment of Devagabbhā is in the Ghata Jātaka the same as in the M., and there as here the motif is the exchange of the child. For the connection of the tale of the Ghata Jātaka with the Harivamśa, see Hardy, *Einbuddhistische Bearbeitung der Kṛṣṇa-Sage*, ZDMG. 53, 25 *et seq.*, esp. 32 *et seq.*

† We meet again, in the history of Paṇḍukābhaya, folklore characteristics. For instance, his meeting with the daughter of one of his uncles. The maiden hands him food on a plantain leaf. The leaf turns into gold in her hand. The prince sees in that a heavenly sign and makes the maiden his wife. She was given the name of Suvaṇṇapālī, M. 10, 30b *et seq.*

bed, the rope from which hung outside, so that any one who sought judgment might ring it. The first to pull the rope was a cow, whose calf had been run over by one of the king's own sons. Elára ordered his son to be crushed under the wheels of the same cart. At another time a bird sought help of the king, as her offspring had been devoured by a snake. The king ordered the snake to be brought and killed. On a third occasion an old woman pulled the bell rope. She had laid some rice out to dry and an untimely rain had spoilt it. Elára recognized therein a punishment for himself for sins he had committed. He did penance, and the gods vouchsafed that rain should fall only once a week at a certain time of the night in his kingdom from that time forward.\*

Material and motifs for romances and tales are further found :—

(1) In the history of the adventures of Vattagámani and his wife Anuládeví, M. 33, 37 *et seq.*, who had to flee before the Damílas and seek refuge in the Southern Province. Later Vattagámani regained the government from the Damíla Prince Dáthika. There is much in the story of Vattagámani that recalls that of Duṭṭhagámani, as for example, the eight heroes of the former compared with the ten of the latter. The D. devotes only verses 20, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21 to Vattagámani.

(2) In the story of Ilanága, who was saved from his enemies, the Lambakaṇṇas, by his state elephant, M. 35, 16-45. In the D. (*cf.* 21, 42) is found no corresponding mention of it.

(3) In the anecdote of King Yasalálaka, who in play exchanged places with his doorkeeper Subha, but was killed by the latter on one of these occasions, M. 35, 51-56. Unknown in the D., compare 21, 46-47.

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\* The judgment of the snake which had eaten the young of a bird is also found in Pancatantra I., 6th tale (Benfey, Pt. 2, 57 *et seq.*; 1, 168 *et seq.*); the story of the bell in Gesta Romanorum, 105. For an interesting parallel I am indebted to my colleague Jacob. According to Qazvíní (II., p. 30) the following notice is to be seen over the "Chinese" town of Sndábl: "Among them is Háqán, the King of China, celebrated for his uprightness and good government. He has a golden chain, one end of which is outside the castle, while the other end is fixed near the king's throne, so that those to whom any misfortune has happened may set it in motion and the king may know it. He has also the custom of riding on an elephant every Friday. He who has suffered any wrong wears a red dress, and if the eye of the king falls on him, he permits him to approach and to tell of his grievance." The elephant shows that this is not a Chinese story, but it might be an Indian one. The fragmentary verses in D. 18, 51-52 evidently allude to the last of the three judgments of Elára.

(4) In the history of Vasabha, who was saved by his uncle's quick-witted wife from the persecution of Subha, M. 35, 59-76.

(5) In the history of Subha's daughter, who was brought up by a poor man, but became the wife of Vasabha's son, and finally the queen, M. 35, 101-111. In the D. (*cf.* 22, 1-12) neither this story nor the last one is mentioned.

(6) In the anecdote about Subhadeva, who pointed out symbolically the weakness of King Voharakatissa's government to the messenger of the pretender Abhayanāga, whom he (Subhadeva) supported, by gradually loosening the roots of an areca palm with his staff so that at last the tree fell, M. 36, 42-51.

(7) In the story of the prophecy of a blind man, of the future ascent to the throne of Saṅghatissa, Saṅghabodhi, and Goṭhakābhaya, M. 36, 58-62.

(8) In the story of the pious King Saṅghabodhi, who yielded himself as expiatory offering for the people suffering from a visitation of the demon of the "red-eye" disease, and who finally killed himself in order to avoid battle with his opponent Goṭhakābhaya, M. 36, 74b-97. The D. has also no mention of the last three tales.\*

### III.—The Extended Mahāvamsa.

8. The following is the result of our studies :—(1) The Dipavamsa represents a primitive attempt at epic poetry. In it the forms of the Akhyāna poetry are not yet entirely overcome. (2) In comparison with it, the Mahāvamsa proves itself to be a perfect epic. The material and arrangement of the subject matter in the M. are similar in the main to the D. But what in the latter is often only just mentioned, is in the M. enlarged and represented in a finished style; moreover the M. introduces many new episodes into the framework which are common to both. Its contents are mainly of a popular kind : tales in the manner of novels, and the material for romances, sagas, and legends. The D. and M. represent two successive

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\* Parallels with the sagas of other nations are to be found in the M. other than those just mentioned. Thus, for example, it is related of Veḷusumana, one of the warriors of Dutthagāmani, that he possessed a war steed that no one before him had been able to ride, M. 23, 71 *et seq.* Hardy drew my notice to the similarity between this story and the Greek Bukephalos Saga, in his letter of 13-7-02. It reminds me also of the story of Rustem's war horse Rachschi (Firdusi, *Schāhnāme*, ed. Vullers, I., p. 287). Hardy also has drawn my attention to the similarity between M. 14, 3 *et seq.* and D. 12, 45 *et seq.*—a mountain deva in the form of an elk who enticed King Devānampiyatissa as he was hunting, to the place where he should find Mahinda—and the Christian legend of Eustachius. (Letter of 22-7-02.)

strata in epic poetry ; they bring clearly before us the development of the Indian epic.

But is the process concluded with the M. ? That is indeed possible, but is not necessarily the case. It would certainly be of the greatest interest if we possessed a poem representing a systematic extension of the M., which made the text of the M. the starting point and embodied new material and new episodes. Such a work is in fact to be found in manuscript, an extended Mahāvamsa (KM.), for whose discovery we have to thank E. Hardy.\* The æsthetic value of the KM. may be of small account. The importance of the discovery for the history of literature is not affected by that. But herein lies its significance, that we see by it how in India, and especially in Ceylon, an already existing work is enlarged in quite a mechanical way by the insertion of new episodes. I have counted in the KM. 5,791 verses as against 2,915 in the original M. It is of particular interest also that we are able to decide as a rule from what sources the author of the KM. has drawn his materials for this extension, and can thereby observe his manner of working. He himself mentions the Buddhavamsa and the Thúpavamsa in the concluding words of the MS. published and given me by Hardy.

At the very beginning, an episode of 677 verses is inserted after the four verses of the proem. It gives briefly the history of the earlier Buddhas from Dīpaṅkara to Kassapa (5-131), then with great detail, that of Gotama Buddha up to his first visit to Ceylon. This passage corresponds with M. 1, 5-43. It concludes with the same verses (42-43), leading back to the original M. text. The text of the KM. thereafter to the end of the first chapter corresponds exactly with the latter.

With regard to the history of the former Buddhas, it relies almost entirely on the Tīkā, the Pāli commentary to the M., which had also been closely followed in other parts by the author of the KM. But the Mṭ̥. on the other hand agrees in the

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\* In a Cambodian manuscript in Paris called "Mahāvamsa"; I therefore call this version of the M. the KM., "Kambodian Mahāvamsa." Compare Hardy, JRAS., 1902, p. 171: JPTS., 1902-1903, p. 61 *et seq.*; Proceedings, 13th International Congress of Orientalists, pp. 38-39. I have to thank the kindness of Hardy, who has in the meantime unfortunately died, that I am in the position to give some examples from the KM. He has left to me with extraordinary liberality his entire copy of the manuscript to copy. If I confine myself only to a few examples in order to show the style and character of the KM., I do so because I naturally do not wish to anticipate a future publication of Hardy's works. In the meantime I have collated a second Cambodian Mahāvamsa manuscript belonging to the Colombo Museum. It contains the same enlarged text, which, no doubt, represents a secondary Cambodian recension,

parts in question with the introduction to the Játaka book, the Játaka Nidánakathá, from which it may have been taken, and with the Thúpavaṃsa. As an example I select the history of the second Buddha, Koṇḍañña, and place next each other the text of the SThv., the PThv., and the MT.,\* while I will refer to the edition of the Játaka by Fausböll with regard to the text of the JNk. It can be easily seen by this parallel arrangement how closely the whole of this literature hangs together.

SThv.	PThv.	MT.
<i>E Dīpaṅkara-nam Budun-gen méta Budu-kenekun nētiya asaṅkhyayak - kap giyakala lova Koṇ- ḍañña-nam Budu - kenekun - vahansé upanséka. E-sama- yehi apa-gé Bodhi- sattvayó Vījitávi- nam sakviti-rajava ipida keḷa - lakṣayak- pamana bhikṣu-saṅ- ghayá-vahansé pra- dhāna-koṭa-eti é Koṇ- ḍañña - nam - Budu- rájánan - vahansé-ṭa mahadan dun-séka.</i>	<i>Dīpaṅkarassa pana bhagavato aparabhāge ekam asaṅkheyyam atik- kamitvá Koṇḍañño nāma satthá uda- pādi. Tadá Bodhi- satto Vījitávi nāma cakkavattī hutvá koṭisatasahassa - saṅkhassa. Buddhapamu - khassabhikkhusaṅ- ghassa mahādānam adāsi.</i>	<i>Dīpaṅkarassa pana bhagavato aparabhāge ekam asaṅkheyyam atik- kamitvá Koṇḍañño nāma satthá uda- pādi. Tadá Bodhi- satto Vījitávi nāma cakkavattī hutvá koṭisatasahassa - saṅkhassa. Buddhapamu - khassabhikkhusa - ghassa mahādā- nam adāsi.</i>
<i>Ē Koṇḍañña-nam Budurájánan-vahan- sé-da “ mé raja aná- gatayehi māsé-ma Budu-vannéya ” yi vivaranadī dharma- desana koṭa vadāḷa- séka.†</i>	<i>Satthá Bodhissat- tam “ Buddho bha- vissatī ” ti vyāka- ritvá dhammaṃ- desesi.</i>	<i>Satthá Bodhi- sattam “ Buddho bhavissatī ” ti vyā- kāsi.</i>

\* SThv. 8, 13; PThv. 6, 28; MT. 35, 13; JNk. Fausböll, Játaka I.30, 3.

† The SThv. then continues: *Ē Budun vadāḷa baṇa asá é cakravartirá-  
jaya é Budu-rájánan-vahansé-ṭa piṭṭa-koṭa é Budun samīpayehi mahāpava-  
sūtrapīṭakaya abhidharmapīṭakaya vinayapīṭakaya yana tun-pīṭakaya  
igesa pañcābhīñña - aṣṭasamāpatti upadavā aparihīnadhyānāyān brahma-  
lokeyehi upanséka, &c.*

This addition, which in the PThv. and in the MT. is wanting, is an expansion of an analogous addition in the JNk.: *Só Satthu dhamma-  
ham sutvā rajjam nīyyādetvā pabbajī. So tiṇi pitakāni uggahetvā aṭṭha  
samāpattiyo pañca ca abhiññāyo uppādetvā aparihīnaññāno brahma-loke  
nibbatti.*

The author of the KM. has written the following verses in exact imitation of the original form :—

*Dīpaṅkarabhagavato parabhāgamhi satthuno |  
atikkamma asaṅkheyyaṃ selasaṅkheyyaṃ avhayaṃ ||  
nārāsabho jīno eko Koṇḍañña-m-avhayaṃ muni |  
uppañji ekakappamhi, tasmim sārāvhave tadā ||  
Bodhisatto cakkavattī Vijitāvi ca-m-avhayaṃ |  
koṭisatasahasassa nīthassa pamukhasa ca ||  
bhikkhusaṅghassa tass'eva mahādinam pavatti so. |  
Byākāsi Bodhisattam so : "ayaṃ Buddho bhavissati" ||\**

In the history of Gotama Buddha which follows later, whole sections of the KM. are simply versifications of corresponding parts in the Mahāvagga. A comparison of the wording will also show close correspondence. The story of the first visit to Laṇkā in the KM. rests entirely on the Tīkā (45, 31 *et seq.*), and is again simply an exchange of the prose into metrical form. In chapter II., after v. 6 is added the list of kings from Accimā to the exit of the dynasty of the Rājanaka, taken from D. 3, 14–38 and the MṬ. 81, 29 *et seq.* In chapter IV., after v. 6, the history of Susunāga follows according to MṬ. 100, 37 *et seq.*, introduced by these words :—

*Susunāgavhayaṃ 'macco kassa putto ayaṃ naro ? ||  
posito vaḍḍhito kena ? ||*

which correspond exactly to the words of the MṬ. :—

*ayaṃ pana Susunāga nāma amacco kassa putto kena  
posito' ti.*

The long episode of the Nanda and Moriya kings, which is inserted after M. 5, 14, is founded on MṬ. 117, 17 *et seq.* And in this way it continues throughout the whole poem. One example is very characteristic, which Hardy has already drawn attention to. In M. 5, 265 it says : The king asked the thera of the existence or non-existence of a debt. "There is no indebtedness without sinful thoughts," the priest instructed the king, at the same time reciting to him the

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\* The KM. has not taken the whole of this episode out of the Bv., although it names it among its sources. It should be noticed that the history of Dīpaṅkara is treated here quite briefly. Elsewhere it is told with a special detail. (Bv., Thv., Dātthāv., MBv.) But it is wanting in the MṬ. ! Here it comes later as an introduction to M. 2 on pp. 76–77.

Tittiri Játaka.\* In the KM. a versification of this Játaka is given according to the text lying before us.

So much for the loosely inserted episodes, which are easily abstracted from the text. Supposing that the M. texts known up to the present were lost to us, and we possessed only that of the KM., then criticism would most probably step in at these episodes, and would prove from certain peculiarities of diction that we had here to do with interpolations, that the hands of at least two revisers are to be distinguished. It would be proved that the interpolator himself was the less skilful poet at this task. That is, moreover, the impression that I have received from the copy of the KM.

But even then we should be far from ascertaining what the original text was. Other cases would be still more difficult. Thus, for instance, short outlines in the M. are further enlarged in the KM. In M. 30, 44-50 a story is told of two women, who are re-born in heaven for the work they did at the building of the Ruvanveli Dágoba, and from thence came back to offer their worship to the tope. This story is extended in the KM. into more than double proportion. The account of Dutthagámani's war against the Damiḷas in chapter XXV. fills 116 verses in the M., in the KM. 199 verses, but single verses of the original text are always introduced. Finally, only single verses are interpolated in the KM. when the author thought it necessary to make the connection clearer, or for the same reason wished to make here and there small alterations in the original text. There are many examples. I will take one only from the story of Vijaya's rejection of Kuveṇi in order that he might be able to enter upon a marriage of equality. He orders her to return to the Yakkhas, and then follows the verse in M. 7, 61 : " He said to the Yakkhiṇí, who, when she understood this, was full of anguish for fear of the Yakkhas : ' Trouble not thyself over this ; I will give thee a gift worth a thousand

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\* Fausböll, Játaka III. 64 *et seq.* We may see from verses 1549b-1551, which I select at random, how exactly the KM. corresponds to the original text :—

*Ath' ekadivasaṃ so te gahetvá tittire bahú ||  
 píretvá pácchíyaṃ " pánaṃ pivissamí " ti cintayi. ||  
 Bodhisattassa assamaṃ gantvá taṃ pañjaraṃ tato ||  
 thapetvá santike tassa pivitvá pániy' icchitaṃ ||  
 válukátale nipanno niddaṃ okkamaṃ távade. ||*

In the J. the passage reads :—

*Ath' ekadivasaṃ so sákuniko bahuke tittire gahetvá pacchimpíretvá  
 .. pániyaṃ pivissamí " ti Bodhisattassa assamaṃ gantvá taṃ pañjaraṃ  
 Bodhisattassa santike thapetvá pániyaṃ pivitvá válukátale nipanno niddaṃ  
 okkamaṃ.*



pieces of gold.'” The KM. has for this, verses 1697-1698 : “ As she heard that, she spoke thus to the Prince, in fear of the Yakkhas : ‘ I will depart to-day, O King ; but what shall I do for my livelihood ? ’ When he heard these words he said to the frightened Yakkhiṇī : ‘ Trouble not thyself thereat ; I will give thee a present worth a thousand pieces of gold.’ ”

Should the thought of an interpolation—and there are a number of such examples—be raised in the case before us ?

The author of the KM. in the closing words of the manuscript gives himself the name of Moggallāna. There can naturally be no positive statement made as to the age in which this man lived. Nevertheless we can decide from certain mistakes in the writing of the MS. of the KM.—*e.g.*, the interchange of *t* and *n*—that it was copied from an original written in Sinhalese. There are also other indications that the author lived in Ceylon. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the younger M. (78, 9) there is a priest named Moggallāna who lived in the twelfth century under Parākramabāhu the Great,\* and evidently was numbered among the then prominent heads of the church.

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\* Probably we may accept that the author of the KM. lived before the reign of Parakkamabāhu II. (1266-1301), for the continuation of the M. which took place under this king was evidently not known by him.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvamsa in relation to their Sources.*

IV.—The Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā and the Author of the Mahāvamsa.

9. Age of the Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā.



WE have not yet discussed the author of the M. nor the period in which it was written. This can only be done in connection with a certain characteristic of the MṬ., from which our knowledge of the origin of the M. and also of its author is derived.

The MṬ. is now to be obtained in print,\* but unfortunately we can form no opinion of the original manuscript which is the foundation of this edition. We know nothing of the author of the Ṭikā. In the closing words he gives his work the title of Vamsatthappakāsini. The idea expressed by Turnour that the author of the Mahāvamsa had also written the Ṭikā—more of this later—is unquestionably the result of an error. Both Max Müller and Snyder† have proved circumstantially that this is not the case. The mistake lies in a totally false interpretation of the closing phrases of the Ṭikā. I shall refer to these passages later. It may however be mentioned here, that exactly the opposite must be understood from that which Turnour thought to be true. The writer most emphatically distinguishes the author of the M. from himself.

In the MṬ. the author of the M. is designated as *ācariyo*, *ayaṃ ācariyo*, “the teacher, master, learned one,”‡ while the

\* Mahāvamsa Ṭikā, or Vamsatthappakāsini, rev. and ed. by Baṭu-wantudāwe and Nānissara Bhikshu. Colombo, 1895.

† M. Müller, SBE. X., pp. xvii.–xx.; Snyder, The Commentary and Translation of the Text of the Mahāvamsa, Berlin, 1891, pp.1–2. Cf. also Oldenberg, D. Introd., p. 8.

‡ Cf. 25, 1 and 34–35; 28, 18. At another place Snyder quite rightly refers to such cases where the commentator wavers over some word in the explanatory text. He moreover does not agree with the opinions of others (e.g., 28, 14). Indeed he even knows different versions. Thus he says in 315, 15 (referring to 22, 53): *keci pana “saṇṭhapetvā”* (st. *ṭhapetvāna*) *ti pāṭhanti*. Cf. also 336, last line (referring to 24, 35), and other places.

M. itself is mentioned many times under the name of *Padya-padoruvamsa*. \* At one place, 447, 26, M. 33, 53, a distinction is also drawn between the time in which the M. was written and that in which the T. was written. It says that Sámagalla, mentioned in the M. and other writings, is called Moragalla† *now* (*idáni*), *i.e.*, in the time of the writer of the T.

This helps us little towards ascertaining the period in which the T. was written. The mention of the reign of King Dhátusena‡ is also of very little use. The latter brings us to the last quarter of the fifth century. Even without this statement no one would have placed the MT. prior to this period. There is however a passage at the beginning of chapter V. which is more important, and to which Snyder has already drawn attention. In this the Dhammaruci and the Ságaliya are referred to as schismatic sects in Ceylon. With reference to this, the T. speaks of subsequent disputes among the monks which took place under King Dáthopatisa.§ As the king is surnamed "the nephew," it is perfectly clear that it is Dáthopatisa II. who is meant, to distinguish from Dáthopatisa I., who was in reality his uncle.|| The author of the MT. lived therefore certainly after the reign of Dáthopatisa II., *i.e.*, roughly speaking, after 670 A.D. Under Dáthopatisa II. the M. gives an account of a dispute which the monks of the orthodox church had with the king, because he did not patronize them, but favoured the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery, the Dhammarucika; ¶ but it does not speak of the disputes between the Ságaliya sects and the orthodox monks of the Mahávihára.

\* Cf. 18, 37 ; 502, last line, and many other places.

† The Mayúrapásáya of the younger M. (72, 105-106).

‡ 456, 27 and Mv. 34, 23 : *kāresi so pokkharāṇṇi ti so pana Dāru-bhatikarājā Sanhanvaiganasamiṇe pokkharāṇṇi lahuṃ kāresi ; pacchá. tam Dhātusenaraṇṇo kāle parveṇapantim karontā bhūmisamam akamsu.*

§ MT. 115, 29 *seq.* Snyder, *loc. cit.*, p. 7, has printed the important passage, which is, notwithstanding, very obscure.

|| M. 44, 154 : *Tassa Dāthopatisassa bhaginēyyo sanāmakō Jambudīpam palāyītha.....*

It is seen from M. 45, 12 and 22 that this Dáthopatisa II. was originally named Hatthadāṭha, but that he exchanged this name, after his ascent to the throne, for that of his uncle; and also that the people universally gave him the name of his uncle.

¶ M. 45, 29 *seq.*, the king built the Tiputhulla monastery for the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery. Thereupon the *theriyā bhikkhū* raised a protest, because it encroached on their boundaries. But the king did not trouble himself over this protest, and they therefore imposed on him the penalty of the *pattanikkujjana*, "the reversal of the alms-bowl." Laymen received this punishment if they had offended against the order. When the priest came to their houses, he turned the alms-bowl upside down, thus signifying that he refused the gift of any food that might be offered to him.

It is not unlikely that these two events stand in some sort of connection with each other, but nothing however is known of this. At all events, the quarrel between the monks of which the MṬ. speaks is quite an internal affair, so that it would not be remarkable if the M. had known nothing of it.

But the MṬ. gives at the place above mentioned a certain number of years for each of the different schisms in Ceylon. The first happened under King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi 217 years after the establishment of the teachings of Buddha; the second, the heresy of the Sāgaliya sect, after 341 years; lastly, the controversy under Dāthopatisa after fully (*atireka*) 350 years. If we add these together the result would be somewhere about the year 600 A.D. for the last-named event. However, the wording of the MṬ. appears to me to admit of another explanation. The surplus 350 years may have been reckoned just as well from the reign of Mahāsena (277-304), of which we have just spoken. That would bring us at all events nearer to the reign of Dāthopatisa.

But however that may be, the fact remains that the author of the MṬ. knew King Dāthopatisa II. That therefore fixes the earliest possible date for the composition of the commentary at about the end of the seventh century.

The limits can be drawn still closer if the Mahābodhivamsakathā, quoted in MṬ. 294, 8, is identical with the Mahābodhivamsa. I believe I am able to prove that this work belongs to the end of the tenth century and not to the fifth century, as has been generally accepted up to now.\* The MṬ. can consequently not have been in existence before the beginning of the eleventh century.

The latest possible date results from the following: the author of the MṬ. did not know of the later addition to the M., therefore he must have lived before the second half of the thirteenth century; and also, which is important, the Pāli-Thúpavamsa, which was written in the middle of this century (*cf.* further on, in 29), made free use of the MṬ. Therefore it follows that the MṬ. belongs to the period between the years 1000 and 1250.

10. As to the contents of Mahāvamsa-Tikā, putting aside exegetic and dogmatic arguments, it adds to the M. a not inconsiderable amount of material, both of history and legends, as well as folklore. It occupies the same position to the M. as the latter does to the D. The material in existence therefore

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\* See Strong, in the introduction to his edition of the MBv., PTS., 1891. *Cf.* with this my argument below, in 27.

is not entirely exhausted in the M. There was other traditional material in existence which could be used for extending the epic poem.\*

The legendary character of the history of the earlier Buddhas is adduced by MT. 35 *seq.* in explanation to M. 1, 6 *seq.*, where the names only are enumerated. The history of Gotama Buddha is related from p. 40 onwards, even with greater detail than in the epic itself. The commentary gives a very exhaustive account of the visit of the Buddha to Laṅkā. It seems to be almost a paraphrase of the account in the M. As introduction to M. II., the MT. (76-78) then gives the legend of the first Buddha, Dīpaṅkara.† The Bodhisatta, in his then existence as Sumedha, received from him the first prophecy of his future Buddhahood (*vyākaraṇa*). The MT. recognizes in Mahāsammata, who stands at the head of the genealogy in M. II., an incarnation of the Bodhisatta. MT. 81-84 contains also more comprehensive statements with regard to the dynasties springing from the family of Mahāsammata than does the shorter text of the M. It is therefore very remarkable that these statements agree entirely with those of D. 3, 14-41, and seem to be a prose version of the same passage.

Such material as the legends of the Buddha are derived without doubt from priestly tradition. We can assume this from the various notes supplementing the account in the M. of the festival at the laying of the foundation stone of the Mahāthúpa.‡ The description of the works of art which, according to the legend, were stored up in the relic chamber (*dhātugabbha*) of the Mahāthúpa, gives rise to an extensive theological discussion.§ The MT. proceeds from the standpoint that perchance a sceptic or an unbeliever would doubt the truth of the description. The matter is only explained by the co-operation of *rājiddhi*, *deviddhi*, and the *ariyiddhi*, the miraculous power which the king, the gods, and especially the *theras* have revealed. It is also said how Buddha himself had specially taken the island of Tambapaṇṇi under his care. Further examples are quoted of analogous miraculous

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\* An analysis of the contents of the MT. to the end of the twentieth chapter is found in Turnour's Mahāvapso, Introduction, p. xxxi. *seq.*

† The MT. 77, 17 refers here to the Sumedhakathā of the Nidāna Jātaka. This section has been transmitted *almost literally* into the PThv. 2, 1 *seq.* (Fausböll, Jāt. I., p. 2 *seq.*).

‡ MT. 378, 2 *seq.*, referring to M. 29, 47; MT. 3 F 9, 2-38i, i 8, to M. 29, 56; MT. 381, 5-382, 35, to M. 29, 62; MT. 383, 9-384, 37, to M. 29, 64-65.

§ MT. 398, 26-401, 10, to M. 30, 97 *seq.*

appearances : how, when the Thera Mahánágasena was sick, eight thousand monks appeared to him in his cell, together with Indra and a great crowd of gods, and all had place in the small chamber which had only *ekamañcappamānam*. Ninety-six thousand monks and a great number of gods came to the festival of the confession of Mahinda on the Cetiya hill, and they all assembled in his cave; and others.

As evidence for the truth of the account, the history of King Bhātiya is then given (Mṭ. 401, 11-402, 29), who with his own eyes had seen the treasures of the *dhātugabbha*. The M. also speaks of this in 34, 49-51. And finally Mṭ. 402, 30-403, 11, refers to the Thera Mahāsiva, who preached a sermon to King Vasabha over the wonder, and convinced him of the truth of his word (first century A.D.).

The story of Nanduttara, an earlier incarnation of Soṇuttara, whom the community entrusted to procure the relics for the Maháthúpa, bears the stamp of true monastic tradition; but the Mṭ. produces nothing essentially new in this place. Its version appears only to be an extension of the account in the M., or the latter as a shorter setting of the former.\* The same can be said of the pre-history of the relics, which is related with greater detail in the Mṭ. than in the M.† Finally, the dialogue between the dying Duṭṭhagámani and the monk Theraputtábhaya, as explained in the Mṭ., bears a thoroughly theological character. The king laments that he is forsaken by all his warriors in this his last battle. He pictures his death struggle as a fight in which he is pierced by the spears of grief, in which tears of blood flow like rivers, &c. The monk thereupon points out to him how that in this battle the victory is gained by spiritual weapons.‡

But in the Mṭ. there are also passages added which appear more to spring from popular tradition. For example, the story of the love of Sálirájakumára, one of the sons of Duṭṭhagámani, for a Caṇḍála maiden, is very romantic. The M. devotes to it only the beginning of chapter 33, telling that the prince renounced his throne because he had made the maiden his wife and because of the maiden's wish, and that the two had already had connection in an earlier existence. This the Mṭ. extends into a longer tale.§

\* Mṭ. 405, 3-407, 4, to M. 31, 5-14.

† Mṭ. 408, 26 seq. ; 411, 10 seq. to M. 31, 17 seq. ; 31 seq.

‡ Mṭ. 425, 2 seq. to M. 32, 12 seq. ; 433, 1-434, 6, to M. 32, 48. The argument which is put in the mouth of Theraputtábhaya is purely dogmatic over the question as to why the king should feel special satisfaction for the two good deeds he had accomplished before he came to the throne.

§ Mṭ. 439, 7-441, 13, to M. 33, 3, *sambaddham pubbaññiya*.

The two were husband and wife in an earlier existence. Once upon a time the husband received a pig from a hunter as payment for some smiths' work which he had done. He prepared the animal for food, and expressed the wish that eight prominent theras might come and take part in the feast. His wife supported him in the belief that the wished-for guests would certainly come. The husband decorated the house, prepared ready eight places, strewed the path with sand from the house to the entrance of the village, and there waited for the arrival of the guests. The Thera Dhammadinna in Piyaṅgudīpa had divined the man's wish, and with seven companions he set out on the way to the village. The monks were here welcomed with joy by the host and entertained. After they had eaten and expressed their gratitude, they went on their way. The man was afterwards re-born as the son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as a reward for his liberality. It is then further explained how the wife, who was then so virtuous, was re-born as a Caṇḍāla maiden. This was as punishment for an offence in another existence. She was the youngest of the seven daughters of a carpenter, and was one day scolded by her mother for her untidiness. This angered her, and she replied to her mother in the same abusive terms that had been used to her. For such undutiful behaviour she came into the world in her next existence as the daughter of a Caṇḍāla.

The Prince Sāliśākumāra grew up surrounded by splendour and riches, and distinguished himself by liberality to the church. One day he heard the song of the Caṇḍāla maiden as she gathered Asoka flowers in the garden. He felt strongly drawn to her, married her, and when his father died, he resigned his title to the throne rather than renounce his love.

A story which follows the history of the pregnancy longings of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's mother is also in the manner of a folktale. The desire of the queen was that she might lie on a magnificent bed, and have a honeycomb as large as an *usabha*, the honey whereof she should distribute to twelve thousand priests, and should enjoy the remainder herself. It is said further that a man of the neighbourhood had found an upturned boat in the jungle, which was entirely filled with honey. The giant comb had therefore served to satisfy the wish of the queen. The M.T. adds to this the following story :—\*

A blind cripple who had heard of the queen's wish, had ordered his sons to make for him a seat in the branches of a flowering Modaka tree. Here he overheard the bees talking

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\* M.T. 313, 15 seq. to M. 22, 42 seq.

as they buzzed around gathering honey from the flowers. Two bees were quarrelling : the one boasted that in such and such a wood there was a hollow bamboo that had been entirely filled with honeycomb by his fellows. The other scoffed at him : his people had filled with honey the whole of a boat which lay overturned at a certain place not far from the sea in a Kadamba thicket. The blind man charged his sons first to seek the bamboo. After they had found it, he informed the king of what he had heard of the boat full of honey. The king sent some people to see, and the boat was found with the honey, according to the statement of the blind man.\*

There is the strongest element of popular tradition in the supplementary matter which the MT. adds to the history of the Indian kings up to Asoka. The story of the founding of the Sakya dynasty is clearly a tribal saga which originated within the family and was transmitted, thus especially belonging to the Kshatriya community.† The story of Susunāga is entirely fabulous.‡ We meet here with a widespread saga motif, in which the founders of a new dynasty are exposed when children, and are protected by a certain wild animal, until men find them and adopt them. Susunāga was guarded by a serpent ; in the same way, according to another saga, which is instanced below, Candagutta was protected by a bull. It is related also of the ancestor of Achämenides that he had been nourished by an eagle.§ Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Kingdom, was, according to tradition, exposed when a child and nourished by a bitch.|| The story of Romulus and Remus who were suckled by a wolf is well known. The Indian popular tales of the " Rhea Sylvia type " are to-day

\* Incidentally it may be mentioned that referring to the enumeration of the presents which Asoka sent to Devānampiyatissa (M. 11, 28-33), the MT. 213, 15 *seq.* gives a description of the *rājābhiseka*. A maiden of the Khattiya caste, then the *purohita* as representative of the Brahmanas, and lastly the *seṭṭhin* as representative of the merchants (*gahapati*), one after the other stepped before the king, poured holy water on his head, and did homage to him. After this he was bound by the following oath : " If thou wilt reign according to our word, it is well. If not, then shall thy head be broken into seven pieces." It is characteristic that at this festival the Kshatriya ranked above the Brahman. Cf. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 53.

† MT. 84, 4 *seq.*, according to Turnour, *loc. cit.*, p. xxxv.

‡ MT. 100-101, referring to M. 4, 6, according to Turnour, *loc. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

§ Aelian, *de anim.* 12, 21 ; cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde* II., p. 262.

|| Justin 1, 4 ; Spiegel, *loc. cit.*, p. 266, Herodotus I., 110, interprets the saga in a rational manner, because he lets Cyrus be brought up by a shepherd's wife who was called Spako, the meaning of which is " a bitch,"



common. In one of these, rats nourished a child who had been exposed on a dust heap.\*

The Nanda dynasty is shortly referred to in M. 5, 15. The Colombo edition has indeed only *nava bhātaro tato āsum*, but the *Ṭikā* read evidently *nava Nanda t. ā.*, and gives in 117, 17 *seq.* the story in detail of its descent. (See Turnour, p. xxxviii.) MṬ. 119, 8 *seq.* links on to this the story of the origin of the Moriya family, to which is added (121, 22 *seq.*) the history of the youth of Candagutta (Turnour, p. xxxix.).

The MṬ. (121, 26 *seq.*) is here especially interesting with the story of the exposure of the newborn child by his mother, and of his preservation by a bull named Canda. A shepherd found the child, received him into his family, and gave him the name Candagutta, "the one preserved by Canda." We are herewith led again into the domain of the Cyrus saga and other similar folk-tales. One is reminded further of the Cyrus saga by an episode from Candagutta's youth,† how he, in play with another boy, took the part of the king, and sitting in judgment gave the order for the hands and feet of some playmates, found guilty of offence, to be cut off. Similarly the boy Cyrus, according to Her. 1, 114, was given the kingship in play by his companions, and chastened the son of a distinguished Mede, Artembares, because he had not obeyed him.

I will instance two other episodes from the history of Candagutta, because they possess the character of genuine folk-tales. The first (MṬ. 122, 22 *seq.*) is the story of Prince Pabbata who had been carried off, and whom Caṇakka educated with Candagutta, in order that he might thereby have a weapon against the Nanda king, whom he hated on account of a personal injury he had once done him. Candagutta was sleeping one day in the forest. In order to put Pabbata to the proof, Caṇakka gave him a sword and charged him to fetch the cord which the sleeping Candagutta wore round his neck, without cutting or untying it. Pabbata went out; but when he saw that he could not carry out the injunction, he turned back again. Another time Pabbata was sleeping in the jungle and Caṇakka gave Candagutta the same commission. The latter cut off Pabbata's head, as he saw he could not carry out the order in any other way except by so doing, and he brought the cord to the Brahman.

The second episode (MṬ. 123, 3 *seq.*) is that in which Candagutta came to know of the mistake he had made when fighting

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\* Sarat Chandra Mitra, on North Indian Folk-tales of the "Rhea Sylvia" and "Juniper Tree" types; JASB. 71, 3, 1902, p. 4. Cf. also Grimm, *Fairy Tales*, III., p. 84.

† See also Turnour, at another place, p. lxix.

for the throne. He had begun by making war in the interior ; but he was defeated, and with his followers wandered about disguised in the villages. In one village a woman had baked some cakes, and had given one to her boy to eat. He eat out the middle, leaving the outside, and then asked for another. But the mother said to him : " You do with your cake as Candagutta does with his kingdom ; he wants to have the inside first, instead of beginning by conquering the outlying provinces." Candagutta's followers drew a lesson from the words of the woman. They removed the seat of war to the frontier, and from thence pressed gradually into the interior.

MT. 124, 4 *seq.* also contains elements of folklore, as, for example, the commentary to M. 5, 18, where the story of the wonderful birth of Bindusāra is told. Cāṇakka made the King Candagutta immune to poison, without the latter's knowledge, by gradually accustoming him to it. One day he came in by chance when the king was giving his wife, who was with child, some of the poisoned food which had been prepared for himself. Quickly making up his mind, Cāṇakka killed the queen with his sword, cut open her body, took out the still living child together with the womb, and had it put into the stomach of a goat. For the length of seven days he took a fresh goat for the same purpose every day, until the child was ready to be born and given over to the nurse. In Indian folklore is also found similar motifs, of the hero being sheltered as a child in the body of an animal, *e.g.*, a dog, a bull, or a horse.\*

The remarkable story of Candagutta's death, which follows immediately upon the story just given (M. T. 124, 33 *seq.*), belongs also to the sphere of folklore. The king was dead, but a Yakkha named Devagabbha took possession of the body and animated it with his own spirit, until Bindusāra outwitted the Yakkha and killed him. The saga is based on the popular Indian belief that it is possible by witchcraft to transfer a soul into a dead body, and by so doing to restore it to life.†

The story of the pregnancy longings of the wife of Bindusāra follows in MT. 125, 35 *seq.*‡ They are here interpreted by an Ajīvaka monk named Janasāna to mean that the queen would bear an eminent son. It is incidentally mentioned

\* Sarat Chandra Mitra, JASB. 71, 3, 1902, pp. 10, 11.

† Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I. 123 *seq.* ; Varnhagen, *Ein indisches Märchen auf seiner Wanderung durch die asiatischen und europäischen Literaturen*, Berlin, 1882.

‡ Turnour does not say much over the following section of the MT. to p. 128. It is versified in the KM., verses 1129-1180. The Ajīvaka monk is here called Jarasāna.

of this monk (126, 37) that in an earlier existence he had been a boa-constrictor (*ajagara*). He owed his prominent wisdom in later life to the circumstance that at that time he loved to dwell in the neighbourhood of monks, and took a delight in their recitations. We have here a story recalling the Játakas, and it is no doubt a popular tradition.

The son of the queen is Asoka. It is further told (MT. 127, 30) how an apparently insignificant event in the youth of Asoka was explained as a sign of his future power. When Asoka himself had become king he wished to pay honour to Janasána. He had him fetched in a chair; but on the way Janasána took the vows of a Buddhist priest from the Thera Assagutta.

From our analysis it can be clearly seen how in the MT., just as in the M. itself, popular tradition runs side by side with monastic. I shall discuss later the origin of the legendary material which it produces, supplementary to the M.

11. In the concluding passage of the MT. (502, 35) the author of the Mahávamsa is named Mahánáma. It says of him that he lived in the monk's cell built by the general Dighasanda.\* Dighasanda was, according to M. 15, 230, a leader of the army of Devánampiyatissa, and the cell founded by him, which bore after him the name Dighasandasena<sup>†</sup>pariveṇa, belonged to the Mahávihára. Turnour (Intro., p. lix.) assumes that this Mahánáma was the uncle of King Dhátusena, of whom the M. says (38, 16) that he lived in the habitation built by Dighasanda. The name of this uncle is however not given in this place. Turnour, or his authority, has taken the name out of M. 39, 42,† where it is said that Moggallána I. (497-515) had transferred the monastery of Sīhagiri to Mahánáma, the presbyter of the Dighasanda monastery; but that this Mahánáma is identical with the uncle of Dhátusena cannot be proved, even if they both lived in this particular monastery. The chronology speaks against it. Dhátusena entered the monastic life under the protection of his uncle, in the reign of the Damiḷa Paṇḍu (436-441). The uncle was at that time already a "thera," thus in all probability considerably older than his nephew. Dhátusena came to the throne in 463, whilst in the meantime five other Damiḷa princes had reigned as well

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\* *Dighasandasena<sup>†</sup>patinā kárāpitamahápariveṇavāsina Mahánámo ti garūhi gahitánāmadheyyena therena...* The edition has only *Dighasandasena<sup>†</sup>patinā kárāpitassa Mahánámo ti*, &c. In this form the passage would signify that the M. must have been composed by the order of or at the suggestion of Dighasanda; but this is an absurdity.

† Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1875, p. 196, has already referred to the mention of Mahánáma at this place.

as Paṇḍu. The transference of Sīhagiri Vihāra to Mahānāma certainly did not take place in the first year of the reign of Moggalāna. That can be inferred from M. 39, 33 *seq.*, where it is told of the different changes in the character and mind of the king before he became an actual patron of Buddhism. From this therefore there results for Mahānāma an age that is not indeed impossible, but very improbable.

Turnour was strengthened in his opinion that the uncle of Dhātusena was the author of the M. by a further consideration. It is related in M. 38, 59 that Dhātusena, on the occasion of a festival on the cremation ground of Mahinda, gave the order that the Dīpavaṃsa should be publicly read.\* Turnour assumes without further thought that by this is meant the Mahāvaṃsa.

Snyder has already proved that this interchange of names is untenable.† The theory breaks down if we consider that the M. has never anywhere been called the Dīpavaṃsa; but if the Dīpavaṃsa, of whose reading this passage speaks, is a work other than our M.—and there seems no doubt of it—then there results, as Snyder quite rightly emphasizes, an argument against Turnour's assumption that Dhātusena's uncle is the author of the M. Dhātusena would surely have read the work of his uncle and teacher on that solemn occasion, and not the Dīpavaṃsa. I am inclined to conclude from this, that at that time our D. was in existence, but not our M.

But now as to my own opinion. I am fully convinced that we must entirely separate the Mahānāma thus named in M. 39, 42 from the uncle of Dhātusena. But there is much to be said for the idea that we have found in him the author of the M. It all evidently rests upon one supposition, which is unproved though not improbable. Two of the data harmonize everywhere—the name and the place of residence. It would follow therefore that the date of composition must have been the last quarter of the fifth century—a result which might at all events be considered plausible.‡

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\* *Datvá sahaṣṣaṃ dipetaṃ Dipavaṃsaṃ samādisi.* Thus reads the Colombo edition, not *dipetaṃ*.

† The commentary and the tradition of the text of the M., pp. 2–3. The identity of the author of the M. and of the Tīkā, Oldenberg has already pointed out to be false, D., p. 8.

‡ There is mentioned in M. 15, 207 a King Senindagutta, under whose reign the Damiḷa are said to have brought the Anurādhapura river nearer the town. According to Turnour, p. 100, footnote, Senindagutta should be identical with Mittasena (435 A.D.). The reference to him would not be opposed to our date for the M. Really this passage should not have had any additions. It appears to be a gloss, as it is wanting in the Burmese manuscripts, and also has no commentary in the T.—Snyder,

With regard to the date of the *Dípavamsa*, I refer to Oldenberg. According to him it was written between the beginning of the fourth century and the first third of the fifth. The reasons he gives are the following :—(1) The earlier limit is given because the account in the *D.* reaches the years 302-304 ; (2) the later limit is fixed by the fact that Buddhaghosa (beginning of the fifth century) knew one version of the *D.*, although it certainly differed somewhat from ours ; (3) this harmonizes also with the fact that the *D.* was publicly read under King Dhātusena in the second half of the fifth century ; and also that the *MT.* refers to a *Dípavamsaṭṭha-kathá*. Still, this argument is naturally only of secondary importance.\*

If we compare these conclusions of Oldenberg's over the age of the *D.* with those mentioned above of the *M.*, it then appears probable that both works were separated from each other by a period of from 100 to 150 years. The great difference which exists between them in point of style is explained by the fact that the activity of Buddhaghosa falls within this period, which signified an important turning point for the whole literature of Ceylon.

#### V.—The Sources.

12. Many passages in the *MT.* deal with the sources to which our *M.* goes back and with the connection that exists between them. They are the following :—(a) *MT.* 21, 31-22, 21 ; (b) *MT.* 25, 31-26, 1 ; (c) *MT.* 28, 18-26 ; (d) *MT.* 29, 19-34 ; (e) *MT.* 502, 34-503, 4. Of these passages the first four are confined to the proem of the *M.* ; the last is a recapitulation in the concluding paragraph of the *Ṭíká*. They all undertake to explain what the author of the *Mahāvamsa* understands by the expression “the *Mahāvamsa* written by the ancients,” in whose stead he places his own poetical work.

From these passages, which I will simply call QS. (= “*Quellenstelle*,” passages about the sources), *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, the following results are arrived at concerning the proem of our *M.*, from this original work and from the relation of our *M.* to it :—

(1) Our *M.* is the translation of a work, originally written in Sinhalese, into the Magadha or literary language, *i.e.*, Páli ; at the same time a transformation took place of the

prose of the original into verse. It is therefore also named *Padyapadoruvamsa*.\*

(2) The translation exactly followed the subject matter. But, on the other hand, the original was not followed in style. The latter was too short in some passages, in others too wordy, and contained several repetitions. These faults were avoided in the translation.†

(3) Various names are assigned to the original work. It is called "*Sihalatthakathá*," Sinhalese commentary, or "*Porānatthakathá*," "commentary of the ancients," or it is more exactly defined as "the old *Mahāvamsa* of the *Sihalatthakathá*," or as "the *Mahāvamsa* of the *Sihalatthakathá* written by the ancients in the Sinhalese tongue."‡ Finally, simply the name *Atthakathá* is found used with the same meaning, or in such a way that *Atthakathá* appears as the general name and *Sihalatthakathá* as the more special designation.§

There was preserved in the *Mahāvihāra* at *Anurādhapura* an old commentary to the canonical writings, which was

\* *Sihalabhāsam* hitvā *Māgadhikabhāsāya* pavakkhāmi, MT. 22, 9.—*bhāsantaram* eva pahāya vigatadosāya seṭṭhamāgadhikabhāsāya kathayis-sāmi, MT. 22, 11.—*ārūlhabhāsamatīam* pahāya ettha *Māgadhikavohāram* āropetvā *padyapadagāthābandhena* kathevi, MT. 25, 38.—*Sihalabhāsamattam* parivattetvā *Māgadhikabhāsāya* ayam *Padyapadoruvamsa* kātabbo, MT. 29, 24.—*tāya* *Sihalabhāsāya* vivajjitam katvā tantibhāsasamyuttam sārāṇi ca katvā ayam *Padyapadoruvamsa* kātabbo, MT. 29, 32.—*pubbasihalabhāsikāya* *Sihalatthakathāya* bhāsantaram eva vivajjiya atthasāram eva gahetvā tantinayānuvūpenakatassa *Padyapadoruvamsassa*, MT. 502, 36.

† *Atthakathāya ye vuttappakārā te asesetvā bhāsantaram eva pahāya* .... MT. 22, 10. Compare also the quotations mentioned in the preceding note in the last passage and in the passage before:—*porāṇake Sihalatthakathāmahāvamsamhi* atisaṅkhepādāyo sissaparikkappitā dosā nāma atthi, te tato parivajjetvā, MT. 28, 23.—*ativitthāravacanam* *anativitthāram*, *anatisaṅkhepam* katvā . . . ayam *Padyapadoruvamsa* kātabbo, MT. 29, 23. MT. 29, 20 is interesting, where a Thera Upatissa from the *Pāsāpadīpa* monastery is mentioned; he defended the original work against the reproach laid on it in M. 1, 2. *Pāsāpadīpa* is mentioned in the younger M. as the seat of priestly learning in the second half of the seventh century.

‡ Compare *Mahāvamsa* ti laddhanāmasi M *hāvihāravāsinaṃ vācanam* gaggam *porānatthakatham* . . pavakkhāmi, MT. 22, 8. The expression *Sihalatthakathā* is used in QS. e, the expression *porāṇa* (ka) *Sihalatthakathāmahāvamsa* is used in QS. b, c, d; at the last place (MT. 29, 29) also *eso Sihalatthakathāmahāvamsa* *porāṇehi* *Sihālāya* *niruttiyā* kato. By the latter expression, the supposition that by the "M. of the ancients" in M. 1, 2 the D. itself is meant, is quite excluded. Here an original Sinhalese work is concerned.

§ That can be seen from QS. a, where the foregoing *porānatthakathā* in MT. 22, 10 is inserted as *atthakathāya ye vuttappakārā*, as well as from QS. d, where the more general *atthakathā* is at first used, and immediately afterwards the especial designation *Sihalatthakathāmahāvamsa* is employed.

known as the *Aṭṭhakathā*. This work was written in Sinhalese prose, mixed up however, as we shall see presently, with Pāli verse. A part of this *Aṭṭhakathā* comprised the "ancient *Mahāvamsa*," on which the M. of *Mahānāma* is based. The new M. agrees practically in subject matter with the old: yet it differs from it by its more elaborate and more uniform account.\*

We have now to discuss the question as to the kind of literature there was extant, and the amount of it, which lay before the author of our M., especially of the *Sīhalatṭhakathāmahāvamsa*, and what position the latter took within that literature. This will give us at the same time information about the relation in which the D. stood to its sources on the one hand, and to the M. on the other. The QS. *a-c* of the MT. form the starting point of investigation, and for its further continuation also the MT. furnishes us with the principal material.

13. The M. itself speaks in its proem (1, 2) of a "Mahāvamsa written by the ancients," *porāṇehi kato p'eso* (*scil. mahāvamsa*). It is clear that the work used as the foundation is meant, and which the MT. knows under a similar designation. At another place the M. names as its source simply the *Porāṇā*, "the ancients," which is merely another name for the original work. It says, for instance, in M. 29, 44, that no statement is made in the *Porāṇā* of the number of monks resident in Ceylon who took part in the festival of the laying the foundations of the Mahāthūpa.† It is implied that the remaining numbers which are named in this connection have been taken from the *Porāṇā*.

The *Porāṇā* are quoted in seven places in the MT.‡ Each time it is with the words *tenāhu porāṇā*. Each time one or more Pāli verses follow. In Buddhaghosa's commentary also the *Porāṇā* are found quoted many times. Thus, for example, in the historical introduction to the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*,§ they are mentioned altogether three times, and at all the three places the Pāli verse is also quoted. The original

\* I refer to Oldenberg, D. Introd., p. 1 *et seq.*, where the question of the sources of the D. and M. based upon the QS. *a* is cleverly discussed. I differ from Oldenberg chiefly with regard to the relation between the old M. and the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathā*.

† *Bhikkhūṇaṃ dīpavāsināṃ āgatānaṃ ca sabbaso gaṇanāya paricchedo porāṇehi na bhāsito.*

Above (30 *seq.*) it is said that the Thera Indagutta came from Rājagaha with 80,000 monks, Dhāmmasena from Benares with 12,000 Bhikkhus, Piyadassi from Sāvattthī with 60,000, Buddhārakkhita from Vesālī with 18,000, &c.

‡ MT. 9, 28; 22, 3; 22, 17; 50, 11; 382, 29; 398, 20; 456, 7.

§ Edited by Oldenberg as supplement to the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* III. Compare in it pp. 313, 319, 320. Also see Oldenberg, D. Introd., p. 5. The quotation on p. 313 has also partly been taken over.

work therefore on which the M. is based was thus mixed up with verses in Páli. But the *Poráṇá* were not only a collection. The *Sumaṅgala-Vilásini*\* takes, as far as it appears in print, three verses out of the *Poráṇá*, but also besides these a number of prose quotations, which bear just the character of a commentary. The *Poráṇá* were therefore a true *Aṭṭhakathá*, or, as the MṬ. directly names the source of the M., a *poráṇáṭṭhakathá*.†

We already know that the prose parts of the original work were written in Sinhalese. Of the modern works of Ceylon, for example, the *Rájaratnákara*, the *Dhátuvamsa*, the *Daḷa-dápújávali*, are written in this same form, i.e., Sinhalese prose intermixed with Páli verse.

If it should still be necessary to prove that the *Poráṇá* and the *Aṭṭhakathá* were one and the same, then I can show that Páli verses are quoted from the latter, just as they are from the *Poráṇá*. Thus, for example, MṬ. 381, 14. It is true they are here only introduced in common with *vuttam pi c'etam*; but just before this in M. 29, 53 seq. more definite statements are made over prominent theras who were present at the festival of the Maháthúpa, and this passage ends with the words *iti aṭṭhakatháya vuttam*. It is then very probable that to the words *vuttam pi c'etam* immediately following, an *aṭṭhakatháya* must also be supplied.

The *Nidánakathá*‡ also gives a quotation in Páli verse from the Ak. It contains in 11 lines the names of the earlier Buddhas. The list is almost exactly the same as the one in M. 1, 5-10, and as the M. is certainly based on the Ak. it will have been copied from this. There is only this difference, that in the M. the first three Buddhas are not named, because there is no prophecy on record made by them concerning Gotama Buddha.

I still have a word or two to add over the designation *Síhalatṭhakathá*. The identity of it with the original work, named simply "*Aṭṭhakathá*," is clearly apparent, as the original work was written in the *Síhalabhásá*; but it can also be seen from MṬ. 80, 33, where the SAk. is quoted as the source for the great genealogy of Mahásammata. Shortly before, in the introduction to the whole passage MṬ. 77, 6 seq., the source for the same subject is simply called *Aṭṭhakathá*.

\* Sum. ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter I., pp. 34, 55, 61.

† Oldenberg, D. *Introd.*, p. 2, has already gathered the identity of these three ideas from the QS. *a* of the MṬ., where *atṭhakathá*, *poráṇá*, and *poráṇáṭṭhakathá* are named by the side of each other with the same meaning.

‡ Fausböll, *Ját. I.*, 44.



But there still remain two passages which to me are difficult to understand. In two places (MṬ. 128, 23 and 213, 15) the Sāk. is named in a remarkable way, Majjhimsaṅgītiyā Cūlasihanādasuttavaṇṇanā Sīhalaṭṭhakathā.\* At one place it is said that the history of Janasāna and of the pregnancy longings of Asoka's mother, which the former explained, is related in it. At the second place the ceremonies of the dedication of the king are, according to it, depicted. It certainly strikes us as strange that the Sāk., which clearly was very comprehensive, should have been the explanatory work to a single Sutta of the M.N. Or, if we assume that in both places only a certain passage out of the great Sāk. was meant, then we cannot see what the statement taken out of it by the MṬ. could have had to do with the contents of the Cūlasihanādasutta.

The two passages which are at our service are not sufficient to form a decided opinion from; but they are also not sufficient to shake the idea guaranteed by the QS. of the MṬ. that Sīhalaṭṭhakathā is only a more exact name for the work of the *Porāṇā*, the original work, which generally was called simply Aṭṭhakathā.

14. Besides the sources for the M. which the MṬ. mentions under the different names of *Porāṇā*, *Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvamsa*, *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā*, *Porāṇāṭṭhakathā*, or more often simply *Aṭṭhakathā*, it names other works from which it drew material for its explanation of the text of the M. Putting aside the two commentaries of Buddhaghosa, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (98, 1; 328, 13) and the *Samanta-Pāsādikā* (95, 9-10; 164, 25-26), as well as the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (114, 10),† there are the following :—

(1) Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā, mentioned several times (see below), and Uttaravihāramahāvamsa.

(2) Vinayaṭṭhakathā, mentioned four times, twice in comparison with a Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathā and once simply with the Ak.

(3) Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathā, mentioned twice, see under (2).

(4) Dipavamsaṭṭhakathā, mentioned twice.

(5) Sīmākathā, mentioned once.

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\* The Cūlasihanādasutta is Sutta 11 of the first book (*milapaṇṇāsa*) of the Majjhimanikāya of Trenckner, M.N., I., p. 63 seq. Neumann, Reden des Gotamo Buddhō I., p. 101 seq.

† Of this one the MṬ. mentions in 114, 10 that a list of the different sects could be taken out of it. The work is published by Minayeff in the JPTS. for 1889, and certainly treats on this subject.

(6) Cetiyavaṃsatthakathā and Mahācetiyaṃsatthakathā. mentioned here and there.

(7) Mahābodhivaṃsakathā, mentioned once.

(8) Sumedhakathā, mentioned once. Cf. p. 35.

(9) Sahassavatthattakathā, "Commentary of the Thousand Histories," quoted four times.

There is little to say over the Dīpavaṃsatthakathā and the Sīmākathā. The former may have been a commentary to our D., which certainly requires some commentary.\* The Sīmākathā was, according to its title, a description of the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura (perhaps also of the other monasteries).†

The Sahassavatthattakathā appears to be a collection of legends and folk-tales. It contains, among others, tales of the former lives of the heroes of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Sūraṇimīla, Goṭṭhayaṃbara, and Theraputtābhaya. Also the romantic tale of the love of Prince Sāli for the Caṇḍāla maiden is related in it.‡

Vinayaṭṭhakathā and Mahāvaṃsatthakathā are twice compared with each other. It is said, in the first place, that the story that Asoka spent a certain sum daily on the church for different purposes is not drawn from the MAk., but from the VAk. § The MT. evidently wishes only to notice that the author of the M. has not drawn from the usual sources in this place, but from the VAk. MAk. signifies here merely the "Atthakathā of the Mahāvaṃsa," i.e., the Ak. on which the M. is based. Another quotation corroborates this, where in opposition to the VAk., simply Ak. is found, the original work of the M. || The second place where the VAk. and the MAk. are mentioned side by side (MT. 257, 15-16 to M. 15, 212) alludes to the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra as fixed by Mahinda, and whose separate boundary marks were stated, according to the MT., in both sources. Finally, there is MT. 230, 11 to M. 14, 3, where, according to the VAk., the deva

\* MT. 293, 15-19 to M. 19, 82; MT. 501, 6 to M. 37, 36.

† MT. 257, 17 to M. 15, 212.

‡ MT. 324, 17; 325, 19; 326, 16 to M. 23, 37 seq.; 49 seq.; 55 seq. —MT. 440, 26 to M. 33, 1-2, as well as p. 39 above.

§ MT. 139, 32-33: *imam attham Vinayaṭṭhakathānāyena vuttam na Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathāya*, to M. 5, 83:—

*Ratanattayanigrodhagilānānaṃ ti sāsane  
paccekam satasahassam so dāpesi dīne dīne.*

|| Both the sources contain rather disjointed statements over the number of the converts of the Theras Soṇa and Uttara in the "golden land." MT. 223, 21 to M. 12, 53. The one quoted in the VAk. has been transferred to our M.

who wished to entice the hunting Devánampiyatissa into Mahinda's presence took the form of a *rohitamiga*, not that of a *gokanna*—for the matter of that also the MBv. 117, 15 and the Thv. 35, 21!

If the VAk. is found opposed to the Ak. of the M., then we must assume that the latter belongs to the Suttapitāka. The notes from the former which the MṬ. gives are taken, I think, from an historical introduction, whose contents, as far as we can draw conclusions from the various notes, are closely allied to those of the groundwork of our M.

From another point of view the reference to the Mahābodhivamsakathā, Cetiyavamsaṭṭhakathā, and Mahācetiyaṃsaṭṭhakathā, is to be criticised. It is possible that the first named work is identical with the Mahābodhivamsa still in existence—this will be mentioned again—and which according to my opinion belongs to the tenth century.\* The CVAk. was clearly a work on the dāgobas of Ceylon. It is to be expected therefore that it stands in closer relation to the Thūpavamsa. The MṬ. admits at the place where it speaks of the CVAk. that the description of the Vessantarajātaka and the Abhinikkhamāṇa in the Dhātugabbha of the Mahāthūpa is here described in detail. The pictorial decoration of the relic cell in the Ruvanvelī Dāgoba is in fact described particularly fully in the Thv.; the two objects mentioned before are also among these.† In spite of this the CVAk. of the MṬ. cannot be identical with our Thv. It is without doubt younger than the MṬ. and has made use of the latter. The CVAk. should therefore be an older work on the same subject and one of the sources of our PThv., of which the latter speaks even in the introduction. I shall return to this subject later. The Mahācetiyaṃsaṭṭhakathā seems to treat especially of the history of the Mahāthūpa built by Dutthagāmaṇi. It is quoted only in MṬ. 368, 15–20 and M. 28, 12. Here it says that in it the presents of honour are exactly mentioned which were given by Dutthagāmaṇi to the people who found the treasures which made the building of the tope possible. According to all probability the MCVAk. is identical with the CVAk. The main subject was always the description

\* Cf. under 29. The passage of the MT. 294, 8: *Mahābodhivamsakathāya vuttehi anekehi acchariyabbhutaguṇehi samannāgato, is a gloss to M. 19, 84, (dumindo) anekabbhutayutto*. It is hardly certain to what special passage of the MBv. the MṬ. refers.

† MṬ. 397, 21 and M. 30, 88: *Vessantarajātakavithāraṇ ca abhinikkhamāṇavithārādhikāraṇ ca Cetiyavamsaṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena vedītabbam*. Compare with this PThv. 66, 3 seq.; SThv. 168, 25 seq. In the latter a whole page of text corresponds to the single verse M. 30, 88.

of the Maháthúpa. The SThv. also calls itself in its introduction *Ruvanveli-dágebvarnanáva*.\* But it does not contain the statement in question (149, 19).

Finally I must speak somewhat exhaustively of the Uttara-viháratthakathá and the Uttaraviháramahávamsa. Just as there was an Ak. of the dwellers of the Mahávihára, in the same sense the expression *uttaraviháravásinam aṭṭhakathá*† is used. According to its contents this UVAk. may have differed from the tradition of the Mahávihára monks more in detail than in general construction. This we may gather from the quotations which the MT. makes from it. The UVAk. also contains a quantity of historical detail. It is, for example, said that there is related in it the story of the nine Nanda princes who succeeded the sons of Kálásoka, of whom the first was said to have been of unknown origin and an outlander.‡

In like manner the time of the inauguration of Candagutta and of his relations with Cāṇakka is spoken of; whoever wishes may there find information.§ In the UVAk. it is related of Susunága who overthrew the dynasty of Ajátasattu, that he was the son of a nobleman of the Licchavi clan, by a courtesan, and that he was brought up by a "son of a minister."||

The whole anecdote is related in full in the T. Besides certain insignificant statements from the UVAk.¶ its statement as to the history of Paṇḍukábhaya and the Yakkhiṇi Cetiya

\* Cf. Wickremasingho, Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus., p. 139.

† MT. 80, 11 and 101, 3. The *Uttaraviháravásinām Mahávamsa* is quoted in MT. 86, 17.

‡ MT. 117, 13 and M. 5, 15 : *tesaṃ hi jethho pana aññatakulassa putto ti ca paccantavásiko ti ca tesaṃ n vannaṃ uppattikkamañ ca Uttara-viháratthakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ*.

§ MT. 123, 37 and M. 5, 18 : *yo Candaguttassa abhisiñcitakálo yo ca ubhinnaṃ adhikáro so sabbákarena Uttara-viháratthakathāyaṃ vutto ; atthikeh' etaṃ oloketvā gahetabbo*.

Candagutta and Cāṇakka are to be understood by *ubhinnaṃ*.

|| MT. 100 I. Z.-101, 4 : *Vesáliyam hi aññatarassa Licchavirañño putto tassāyaṃ ekāya nagarasobhiniyā kucchismiṃ gahitapaṭisandhiko aññatarena pana amaccaputtana posito ti Uttara-viháravásinam aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ*. For the Licchavi, see Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 27.

¶ MT. 80, 11 *seq.* is given for example to M. 2, 2-3 that in the first dynasty after Mahásammata the UVAk. left out King Cetiya and made the Mucala as the son of Upacaraka. It counts therefore only 27 kings instead of 28. In MT. 171, 8 and M. 6, 28 is mentioned the cave which was inhabited by Sīhabáhu's father, the lion : *taṃ pana guhaṃ aṭṭhāsabhappamāṇamañiguhan ti Uttara-viháratthakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ*.

is remarkable.\* It shows that romantic and legendary material was also not foreign to the commentary of the "northern monastery."

At one place the UVAk. has simply been mentioned by the side of the Atthakathā, i.e., the Ak. of the Mahāvihāra, which is the source of the M. This is in a note on the history of Suppādevī, as she, with her children Sīhabāhu and Sīhasīvālī, after they had escaped from the lion's cave, reached again a human settlement. The agreement of the two sources is here distinctly emphasized.†

The quotation out of the Mahāvamsa of the Uttaravihāra finally refers to the genealogical section M. 2. Here it says in v. 14 : "There were 82,000 princes, the sons and grandsons of the King Sīhassara, among them Jayasena was the last."

The T. says : "In the Mahāvamsa, it is said of the inhabitants of the Uttaravihāra : the sons and grandsons of King Sīhassara were 82,000 princes, the youngest of them was the king with the name Bhagusakka. The sons and grandsons of whom were 82,000 princes, the youngest among them was Jayasena."‡ One sees thus that the M. of the Uv. counts one more dynasty than our M. and also, as I incidentally notice, than the D.§

The quotations out of the UVAk. and the UVM. apply to the genealogy of the kings before Buddha, as it is represented in M. 2 and D. 3, to the history of the family of Vijaya, to the history of the Indian kings before Asoka, to that of the Paṇḍukābhaya. We can rightly suppose that the tradition of the Uttaravihāra transmitted the same material as the Mahāvihāra with approximately the same grouping. We cannot say how far the UVAk. and its M. reached back in point of time. It is remarkable that the MT. takes no more quotations from it in its second part. One could almost suppose that they stopped with the story of Mahinda. earlier than our M.

\* MT. 202, 16 seq. and M. 10, 62 : *so pana tattha gacchanto 'va paṭhamam tassā bhavanam gantvā tattha sattāham vasitvā tīya saddhim abhiramitvā tīya mantetvā tato nikkhamma Cītapassanāma lenadvāre thatvā mahājānam dassaetvā jānam hāsetvā tato khandhavāram āgato ti Uttaravihāratthakathāya vuttam.*

According to the MT. 201, 29 seq. the name of the husband of the Yakkhiṇī, Jutindhara, who had fallen in battle at Sirīsavatthu, was also given in the UVAk.

† MT. 170, 13 and M. 6, 18 : *Atthakathāya pana tesam paribhojanam paṭikkhittam, paṭhamam tālaputena yōgam datvā pacchā vatthāni dāpesi vuttam, tath'eva Uttaravihāratthakathāya pi.*

‡ MT. 86, 17-21.

§ Cf. D. 3, 42-44. This refutes, as Oldenberg, D. Introd., p. 1, note 2, has rightly seen, the opinion given by Turnour that the D. is the M. in the version of the Uttaravihāra.

and its sources. The historical introduction to *Samanta-Pásádiká* also does not reach beyond Mahinda.

From the quotations of the *Mṭ.* we may gather that there was without doubt a rich literature to draw from. At that time there were still in existence collected works which were carefully preserved in the different monasteries as commentaries, *Atthakathá*, to the canonical scriptures. But even at that time, without counting the works of Buddhaghosa which have come down to us, a secondary literature had begun where single subjects, as for instance the story of the Bo-tree, that of the *thúpas*, &c., were taken out of the original works and represented in a connected manner. The *Mṭ.* has, at least in a subsidiary way, drawn this rich literature to itself. All the same, it has taken from the *Sihalaṭṭhakathá* of the Mahāvihāra its principal subject

#### VI.—The Contents of the Sources.

15. The *M.* follows the *Atthakathámahāvamsa* exactly in its account. The *Mṭ.* supplements and adds a great deal from it. A combination of the two must therefore give us an approximate idea of the source on which the *M.* relies, of its character, and of its scope. I thus place side by side the supplements, which we know or are able to accept, and that the *M.* has taken over from the *Ak.*

In order to illustrate it in a clearer way, I divide the material of the *M.* into six parts :—

(1) Fore history : legends of the Buddha and genealogy : chapter 1-2 = *Mṭ.* pp. 18-89 ; history of Vijaya and the early kings of Laṅkā to Devánampiyatissa : chapter 6, 1-11, 5 = *Mṭ.* pp. 167-208.

(2) History of India before Asoka : chapter 4, 1-8 = *Mṭ.* pp. 100-101 ; chapter 5, 14-21 = *Mṭ.* pp. 117-129 ; 22-97 = *Mṭ.* pp. 129-142.

(3) History of the councils, the sects, and the *theras* : chapter 3 = *Mṭ.* pp. 91-99 ; chapter 4, 9-65 = *Mṭ.* pp. 101-111 ; chapter 5, 1-13 = *Mṭ.* pp. 113-116 ; chapter 5, 98-230 = *Mṭ.* pp. 142-160 ; 230-282 = *Mṭ.* pp. 160-166 ; chapter 12, 1-54 = *Mṭ.* pp. 217-223.

(4) Devánampiyatissa and Mahinda : chapter 11, 7-20, 28 (except chapter 12) = *Mṭ.* pp. 208-297.

(5) The kings after Devánampiyatissa besides Duṭṭhagámāni : chapter 20, 29-21, 33 = *Mṭ.* pp. 298-305 ; chapter 33, 1 to the end = *Mṭ.* pp. 438-502.

(6) The Duṭṭhagámāni epic : chapter 22-32 = *Mṭ.* pp. 306-438.

16. Fore history.—The source, the old *Aṭṭhakathā*, or more correctly that part of it which was called the *Mahāvamsa*, began with the Pāli verses which also form the proem of the D. In the *QS.a* of the *MṬ*. they are expressly attributed to the *Porāṇā* and the *Aṭṭhakathā*. The legend of the earlier Buddhas next follows in Sinhalese prose.

Of this section we have a remnant also in the *JNk*. The Pāli verses here quoted from the *Ak*. (p. 44), which contain a list of names, seem to have stood at the beginning or at the end of the Sinhalese prose story. We gather from the *JNk*. that the history of *Dīpaṅkara* was especially elaborately dealt with. This whole portion of the *Ak*. naturally stands in the closest relation to the *Buddhavamsa* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. In the *MṬ*. the legend of the Buddha *Dīpaṅkara* is related on p. 77, 14 *seq.*, that of the other Buddhas on pp. 35–40, and, as already said, word for word with the *JNk*. The *Ak*. is expressly not mentioned as the source. But the reason is this, that the author of the *MṬ*. did not obtain his material direct but through the medium of the *JNk*. We shall hardly be wrong if we accept that the text of the *JNk*. and the *MṬ*. was not much more than a translation of the old Sinhalese text.

From the last Buddha, *Kassapa*, the *Ak*. passes to the *Gotama Buddha*. According to the idea of the *MṬ*. 40–41, his life was rather cursorily described as far as the *sambodhi*. The story of the vision was characteristic, which Buddha by acquired wisdom had of the history of his church up to the preaching of his doctrine by *Mahinda* in *Laṅkā*. That this passage is to be found in the *Ak*. is evident by the agreement of *MṬ*. 42–43 with D. 1, 17–28. The *M*., which openly sets out to avoid the verbosity of its model, passes over the episode, because later a more detailed account of all these events had to follow.

The account in the *Ak*. now passes on to the events of Buddha's life till his visit to the *Uruvelā-Kassapa*. At the beginning there may have been the remarkable memory verse of D. 1, 29, followed by the Sinhalese prose story illustrating it. Especially interesting further was the portion of the *Ak*. over the three visits of Buddha to Ceylon. The text of the *MṬ*. 44–51 may almost exactly correspond to that of the *Ak*. The first visit is here described with great detail, whilst the *MṬ*. limits itself with regard to the later visits to commenting on the *M*. text. At the end of the long section about the first visit the *MṬ*. (51, 38) names the *Ak*. as its source. Evidently all the visits of Buddha had been exhaustively told in the *Ak*. They are considered as an important subject,

This is specially evident because the *dīpāgamanaṃ buddhassa* in the poem of the D., which was also that of the Ak., mentions this expressly as one of the subjects which ought to be considered.

It is very noteworthy that in the history of the first visit the text of the MṬ. shows exact agreement with that of the D., and also the language. Both texts look like a transcription of the same subject. And in reality they are, as they both follow the Ak. If we compare therefore the text of the MṬ. with that of the D., it is possible to gain an idea of the language even of the corresponding section in the Ak.\*

For the great genealogy in M. 2 = D. 3, the Ak. is expressly stated in the MṬ. as the source.† But still further, the M. 2, 7 seq. mentions only the number of the regents of the dynasties between Accima and Makhādeva. The MṬ. gives this with greater detail, and, as can be gathered from p. 83, 9, this is so, because it bases itself on the Ak. Thus, for example, it says in MṬ. 81, 15 seq., speaking of the second dynasty which followed Accima, that the son of this prince of Mithilā had wandered out towards Kusāvati, and there had founded a new dominion. "The sons and grandsons of whom, 99 in number, succeeded as kings to the sovereignty, and lived in that place." And then further, line 29 *et seq.*, "Of all these hundred kings the youngest was the king with the name Arindama. The sons, grandsons, and great grandsons of whom were 56 kings who reigned in the town Ayujjha . . . . . Among these 56 kings, the youngest was the king with the name Duppasaha, the sons and grandsons of whom reigned in the town Bārāṇasī and were 60 kings." In the same manner the other dynasties were enumerated, the number of the princes, the principal town, and the last king of each dynasty being always named. This is the exact method that the D.

\* Cf. D. 1, 64 : *kathaṃ gamissāma sukhi aroga kadhā pamuñcāma imam subheravaṃ || sace ayam yakkho mahānubhāvo tejo samāpajjati pajjalāyati | sabbeva yakkhā vilayā bhavissare bhusaṃ va mutthi rajam vātakkhitam ||* with MṬ. 50, 4 seq. : *mayam pana dasasu disāsu kuhim gantvā aroga bhavissāma, imamhā bhayā kadhā muccissāmadī ca ; sace pana ayam mahānubhāvo yakkho tejo-samāpanno tam samāpajjissati, mayam sabbe pi jīvitakkhayaṃ patvā pativāte khittabhusaṃ viya bhavissāma.* Or D. 1, 76 : *sankadghayi Gotamo dipam iddhiyā bandham va goṇam dalharajjukadghitam | dipena dipam upanūmayi muni yugam va nāvam dalhadhammaveditam ||* with MṬ. 51, 1 seq. : *Girīdīpam āharitvā iminā dipena saddhim yottena bandhitvā saṅghātam* (v. Sin. aṅgulu, GEIGER, Etymologie des Sgh. u. d. W.) *karonto viya yugagoṇe bandho viya ca ekato katvā . . .*

† MṬ. 77, 6 : *suddhavaṃsajan ti iminā padena dassitam bhagavato lokiyauppattim pi dassetum Atthakathāyam eva vuttakkamena Mahāsammatavasamaparicchedam pi dassetum Mahāsammatarājassati ādim āha,*



follows.\* It repeats exactly the Ak., but the author of the M. saw in this stereotype repetition one of the faults of its pattern, viz., diffuseness, which it therefore set out to avoid.

But the similarity between the MṬ. and the D. is carried still further, and the reason for this is that they both follow the Ak. closer than does the M. In 9b-10a the M. says: "Five and twenty (kings) and twelve and (again) twelve and a further nine, and eighty-four thousand with Makhādeva at the head." The MṬ. 83, 6 *seq.* remarks about the last two dynasties: "Of these nine princes, the youngest was Sāgaradeva by name. His son was Makhādeva, whose sons, grandsons, great grandsons, eighty-four thousand kings, reigned in the town Mithilā, as it is told of in the Aṭṭhakathā." According to the Aṭṭhakathā, there would thus be, the MṬ. goes on to say, eighty-four thousand and one princes to enumerate. The same number occurs in D. 3, 34-35. Here Sāgaradeva is named as the last of the former dynasty. Then the D. continues: "His son was the generous prince Makhādeva, whose eighty-four thousand sons and grandsons reigned in the town Mithilānagara."

The MṬ. corrects a similar mistake in reckoning in the M. with regard to the following dynasty. In the M. 2, 10b it says: "And (once again) eighty-four thousand princes with Kaḷārajanaka at their head." MṬ. 83, 13 *seq.* remarks over this, of the previous eighty-four thousand princes of the dynasty of Makhādeva, the last was called Nimi. His son must have been Kaḷārajanaka, whose son was Samaṅkara, whose son was Asoca. The descendants of Asoca, eighty-four thousand in number, would have reigned in Bārāṇasī. This, says the MṬ., is the reckoning of the Aṭṭhakathā. The total amounts to eighty-four thousand and three. Here again the D. agrees with the MṬ., in that it names Kaḷārajanaka, Samaṅkara, and Asoka (= Asoca of the MṬ.) after King Nemiya (= Nimi of the MṬ.), and lets the eighty-four thousand princes in Benares descend from the last-named Asoca.†

\* D. 3, 16 :—

*tesaṃ pacchimako rājā Duppassho mahissaro |  
puttā paputtakā tassa satthi te bhūmipālakā |  
mahārājja kāresuṃ Bārāṇasipuruttame ||*

should be compared with MṬ. 81, 33 *seq.* : *tattha yo tesaṃ chappaññāsa rājīnaṃ kaṇiṭṭho Duppassho nāma rājā, tassa puttānattapanattā Bārāṇasīnagare rājjaṃ anusāsītā satthirājāno cāti attho.*

† D. 3, 37-38 :—

*Nemiyaputto Kaḷārajanako, tassa putto Samaṅkaro  
Asoko nāma so rājā muddhāvasittakhattiyo ||  
caturāsīti sahasāni tassa puttāpaputtakā ||  
mahārājjaṃ kārayiṃsu Bārāṇasipuruttame ||*

The pedantic manner in which the MṬ. criticises the M. is for us very important. It shows us with what exactness it rendered the Ak. On the other hand, we see from the agreement between the MṬ. and the D. that the former endeavoured to abide by its original even in language. The pages 81-83 of the MṬ. we can understand as an almost word for word translation of the corresponding passage in the old Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā. I think that we have the right therefore to draw a conclusion from this fact regarding also other quotations in the MṬ. from the Ak.\*

The Ak. concerns itself very exhaustively with the history of Vijaya's ancestors, according to the quotations in the MṬ. It contains in detail the conversation that Sīhabāhu carried on with his mother over his future. Another statement about the return of Suppādevī, with her children from the jungle, has already been mentioned above. It says further that in the Ak. the armour is described which Sīhabāhu wore when he set out to fight his father, the lion; also the death of Vijaya appears to have been more extensively described in the Ak.†

We have only two or three notes from the Ak. over the history of the successors of Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa. The first is the statement that Paṇḍukābhaya, when he went to war against his uncle, according to the Ak. tarried on the Dola mountain, not four years, as the M. states, but five years. Further on it again says, according to the Ak., that he tarried on the Ariṭṭha mountain six years, not seven years. The chronology is again adjusted in this manner. This quotation shows us on the one hand how detailed the account in the Ak. must have been, and on the other with what exactness the author of the MṬ. checked the M. by means of the Ak. Finally, it is said that the founding of the town of Anurādhapura is described in the Ak.‡

17. The history of India up to Asoka.—The contributions by the MṬ. to Indian history for which the Ak. is expressly named as source, are not very numerous. It is, for example,

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\* The Ak. is also given as the source for the statement over the nearest relationship of the Buddha in MṬ. 87, 7. It contains the whole genealogical section = M. 2, D. 3.

† *Tam ubhinnaṃ kathāsallāpaṃ Aṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena, ñeyyam*, MṬ. 169, 19 referring to M. 6, 11. At the second place MṬ. 170, 13 to M. 6, 17 *seq.*, see p. 56, note 1.

‡ *So kumāro Aṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena patiyatto guhādvāraṃ gantvāti attho*, MṬ. 171, 31 to M. 6, 28. — *gato'ti Aṭṭhakathānayaena vicārito (?)*, MṬ. 186, 8 to M. 7, 3.

§ *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana pañca vassāniti vuttam*, MṬ. 200, 11 to M. 10, 45; *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana cha iti vuttam*, MṬ. 202, 23 to M. 10, 63. — *Aṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena pavaram agganagaram tasmimyeva gām. māpesi*, MṬ. 204, 26 to M. 10, 75.

stated that the Ak. gives by name the ten sons of Kālāsoka ; this is not so in the M. Another note shows that the story of how Nigrodha came into the palace of Asoka was related in greater detail. Finally, according to a third, the festive procession, in which Asoka visited the community of monks, in order to invite them to his palace, was very exactly described in the Ak., as well as the entertainment itself. Such processions belong indeed in their stereotype form to the regular *répertoire* of the account of the M.\*

Nevertheless we see that the history of India, as far as it was of importance for the understanding the development of Buddhism, was taken into account by the Ak. Now in this section the MT. introduces a quantity of new material of true folklore character, namely, the history of Candagutta.† From whence then are these stories derived ? A part at least is taken from the Ak. here also ; others from the Uttaravihāratthakathā. The latter is expressly quoted as the source, for the history of Susunāga, for that of the nine Nanda princes, and for that of Candagutta.‡ But it appears from the passage which forms the conclusion of the whole section, that excepting the history of the relation between Candagutta and Cāṇakka, the Atthakathā forms the basis for the account in the MT.§ We can therefore infer that the history of the Nanda princes, that of the origin of the Moriya dynasty, of the descent of Candagutta and his ascent to the throne, occur in the Atthakathā both of the Uttaravihāra and of the Mahāvihāra, but that of Cāṇakka only in the first named monastery.

Unfortunately we cannot say with certainty what is the source for the stories of Bindusāra's wonderful birth, of Candagutta's death, and of the demon Devagabbha, of the story of the pregnancy longings of the wife of Bindusāra, and that of

\* MT. 117, 11 to M. 5, 14 : *tesam pana nāmaṃ Atthakathāyaṃ vuttam.* —MT. 137, 3 to M. 5, 64 : *ettha Atthakathāyaṃ vuttanayena "nāham pure- rājākulūpago" ti evamādihi vimamsitvā paccha attano pakatiyā eva sant'iriyapathagamanena upāgami.*

MT. 138, 33 seq. to M. 5, 77-78 : *yaṃ etaṃ idha saṅkhittam taṃ, Atthakathāya vitthāretvā vuttam, taṃ tato ñeyyam...gantvāti, Atthakathāya vuttanayena mahatā parihāragamanena saṅghamaññham gantvā.*

† Cf. above on p. 42 et seq., MT. 117 et seq.

‡ MT. 101, 3 ; 117, 15 ; 123, 38 Cf. above on p. 55.

§ MT. 123, 37-124, 3 : *yo Candaguttassa abhisiñcuttkālo yo ca tesam ubhinnam adhikāro so sabbākārena Uttaravihāratthakathāyaṃ vutto ; atthikeh' etaṃ oloketvā gahetabbo mayam pana accantam kathetabbam samayāvirodham mukhamattam eva dassayimha ; ethāpi Cānakassa adhikāro ca Candaguttassa pana kamena gahitāti ādi adhikāro ca viseso, itaram Atthakathāyaṃ eva vuttam dassayimha.* The text of the works *pana kamena gaho* is damaged.

the birth and youth of Asoka.\* The M $\bar{T}$ . contains no statement. But perhaps the *argumentum e silentio* has a certain weight, and that therefore the Ak. ought perhaps to be looked upon as the source, because no other source is named. There are in the M $\bar{T}$ . a quantity of short details, as *e.g.* the mentioning of proper names, which are not found in the text of the M., and similar supplementary notes. We can scarcely suppose otherwise than that they have their origin in the Ak., even if this is not expressly stated.

18. The M $\bar{T}$ . furnishes few additions to the history of the councils and the *theras*, and generally speaking nothing to that of Devánampiyatissa and Mahinda. The latter is easy to understand of itself. The founding of the Buddhist church in Ceylon forms the most important subject of the first half of the M. The author has here completely exhausted his source. Nowhere do the M. and D. agree so entirely as in this place. Both works reproduce the Ak. almost exactly. The M $\bar{T}$ . 99, 2 (referring to M. 3, 41) adds to the history of the councils that the first "Saṅgīti" in the Ak. is described as Vibhajjavāda. The M $\bar{T}$ . 188, 8 (referring to M. 4, 39-41) adds to the pre-history of the second council that the dialogue between Kālasoka and his sister, whom the king summoned to take charge of the teaching of the Buddhist doctrine, is given in the Ak.† On the history of missions (M., chapter 12) the M $\bar{T}$ . 223, 21 adds a note on the number of converts in Suvannabhūmi, from the Ak. against one out of the Vinayaṭṭhakathā, which has already been mentioned above (p. 48, ||). Finally, in the history of the *theras*, the M $\bar{T}$ . (300, 33) adds information to the account of the death of Saṅghamittā and of the remaining great *theras* of Mahinda's time in M. 20, 57. Hence follows that in the Aṭṭhakathā the names of the deceased nuns are enumerated. We see therefore from the quotations in the M $\bar{T}$ . this much, that all the accounts which the M. gives of the councils and of the important heads of the church must have already been mentioned in the Ak., and as a matter of fact in greater fulness and with more detail.

19. There are found two passages in the M $\bar{T}$ . from the Ak. over the history of the later kings, not including Duṭṭhagāmani. The one which is not fully clear to me refers to Suratisa, the successor to Mahāsiva.‡ The other refers to

\* M $\bar{T}$ . 124, 4-129, 8. See above, p. 43 *et seq.*

† *Ubhinnam vacanapaṭivacanam Aṭṭhakathāyam eva vuttam.*

‡ M $\bar{T}$ . 302, 6 to M. 21, 3: *Mahāsivakaniṭṭho tu Sūratisso tadaccaye ti ca vattabbe pana Aṭṭhakathākulasamabhūtenopaladdhantarikena pamā dadosena idha [na] upaparikkhanto Uttiyassa kaniṭṭho Sūratisso tadaccaye ti ādim dha,*

Kaṇiṭṭhatissa and his reign.\* It is important, because it proves to us that the M. of the Ak. certainly reaches back to at least about the end of the second century A.D. It is probable therefore that it, like the M. and B., extended to Mahāsēna, for which the agreement of the D. and M. also speaks.

We are able to get a fairly good idea of the way in which the history of these later kings was treated in the Ak. We have seen above (p. 15, note 3) that a good many verses of the D. and M. in this part agree word for word. There are these and other verses which the M. always places like a heading at the beginning of the section devoted to each king, and which contain the general statement over names, kinsfolk, and reign. Thus, for example —

“ After Vaṅkanāsikatissa’s death, his son, Gajabāhugāmani, reigned for 22 years.” D. 22, 28 = M. 35, 115 ;

or

“ After the death of Mahallakanāga, his son, Bhāṭikatissa-ka, reigned 24 years in Laṅkā.” D. 22, 30 = M. 36, 1.

Such verses of a similar nature go back without a doubt to the Ak. We can accept therefore that in the Ak. such a general guiding verse in Pāli was always found at the beginning of each new section. Then follow the details of the reign of the king in question, as we can gather them from the M. and the MT., and the details are given in the main points, in Sinhalese prose.

The notes on the Duṭṭhagāmani section are more abundant. The Ak. was here very full and rich in details.† Thus the festival of the laying the foundation of the Mahāthūpa was evidently described in the minutest manner. It is, *e.g.*, shown very exactly how the king asked after the name of each *thera* who stood with Siddattha in his immediate presence, and recognized in their names favourable omens for the success of his undertaking. The whole passage is taken from the Ak., and is of interest because we can thereby get an idea how the Pāli verse may have been divided in the original. At the end it says, *iti Aṭṭhakathāya vuttam : vuttam pi c’etaṃ*, and then follows the memory verse D. 19, 8, which contains nothing but the names of the twelve *theras*. It could be concluded that the verse stood just as it is in the Ak., and from there was taken over into the D.

\* MT. 481, 23 to M. 36, 6 : *Katthaci aṭṭhārassa samā ti likhanti, taṃ pamādalekham ; evam hi, i.e., aṭṭh viṣa* (as it stands in the text of the M.) *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttam.*

† A quotation in Buddhaghosa’s Asl. 235, out of the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, also refers to King Duṭṭhagāmani (ed. E. Müller, p. 80).

In the same way the act of the laying of the foundation stone itself is fully described, and a quotation introduced as well from the *Porāṇā*, corresponding to D. 19, 9.\* The Ak. is in this case not named; but it should without a doubt be accepted as the source, as the quotation already shows, from which the author of the MT. has drawn. It most certainly was for the passage immediately following in the MT., in which is described how the king accosted the four *theras*, Mahābuddharakkhita, Mahādhammarakkhita, Mahāsaṅgharakkhita, and Mahānanda, who had taken up their position in the east, south, west, and north, and made reverence to them.†

The MT. further produces notes from the Ak. which refer to the Lohapāsāda, to the collecting of material for the construction of the relic cell (*dhātugabbha*) of the Mahāthūpa, and to its decoration, as well as to the festival of the placing of the relics (*dhātunidhāna*).‡ It can thus be clearly seen with what detail the building operations of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi were treated in the Ak.§

Passages of a purely epic character such as M. 22, 25 also have their foundation in the Ak. At all events the MT. gives only a few supplementary notes; but these show that the original work contained details which Mahānāma omitted in his work. For example, the Ak. relates that before the birth of her second son, Tissa, the brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the mother Vihāradevī was attacked with remarkable pregnancy longings.|| And at another place it is remarked, according to the Ak., that at the spot where Duṭṭhagāmaṇi turned aside from the road towards Anurādhapura in order to march on Mahelanagara, the town Nivattagirinagara was

\* MT. 381, 1 = 382, 31, referring to M. 29, 59. Cf. PThv., p. 59, line 30 *et seq.*

† MT. 383, 9 = 384, 27 to M. 29, 64. Cf. PThv., p. 60, 14 *et seq.* Cf. for the whole p. 10, above.

‡ MT. 366, 2 *et seq.* to M. 27, 42; MT. 392, 31 and 36 to M. 30, 57-58; MT. 397, 38 to M. 30, 91; MT. 411, 27 to M. 31, 34. Many details are also added. Thus in MT. 374, 16 to M. 29, 18 the names of both the ministers are given to whom the king had entrusted the decoration of the building ground of the Mahāthūpa. In MT. 430, 11 it is said that the famine mentioned in M. 32, 29 has in the Ak. the name of *Pāsāṇāchātaka*.

§ The disproof of the objections raised against the truth of the statements over the contents of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa is found in MT. 398, 26 *seq.*; that this was taken from the Ak. is seen from a note in the PTh. 69, 3, in which it is traced back to the *Porāṇā*. Cf. SThv. 176, 6, and above on p. 35.

|| MT. 317, 33: *tāya paṇā evarūpo dohalo uppajji, supupphitamh, campakarukkhe supaññatte sayane sayitvā 'va puppham upasiṅghitukāmā ahoṣi; rājā tam janitvā tathā katvā tam patippassambhāpesiti Aṭṭha-kathāyam vuttam* (to M. 22, 72-73).

built.\* The longest quotation from the Ak. refers to the pregnancy longings of Vihāradevi. The tale is introduced by these words: *ñatvānāti, Aṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena modakatarum upagatabhamarasaddena jānitvā.*†

If we consider the quotations of the MṬ. from the Ak. we find full confirmation of the statements of the QS. *a, d, e* by them. The collected material which our M. presents, already was in existence in the Ak., and also practically in the same order; but the account in the Ak. is very much richer in detail. The reproach thrown at it, of being much too profuse, is quite comprehensible to us; but it is not so easy to understand which are the passages it charges with excessive brevity. At all events it is shown from the notes in the MṬ. that the original work, i.e., the Mahāvamsa of the Aṭṭhakathā, which is most usually named for short Aṭṭhakathā, must have possessed a very considerable range. The size was still further enlarged by numerous repetitions of which the M. speaks in 1, 2, and which naturally were not repeated in our M. text and in the MṬ.

20. But by what I have given out of the MṬ. the material which it has taken from the Ak. is not in the least exhausted, as I believe. There are still to be found in the MṬ. a great number of single references to which no source is given, or which are simply introduced with the general expression *vuttam hoti*. It is extremely probable that some of these notes, or perhaps all, are taken from the Ak.; but we have here only a probability, no certainty. There is a suggestion, not altogether to be rejected, that these kinds of statements originated from oral tradition or from another manuscript source.‡ I therefore refer quite briefly to such isolated notices.

Many times names are given in the MṬ. which are not to be found in the text of the M. itself. Thus, for example, there were three buildings erected by King Devānampiyatissa which were to serve as a nunnery for Anulā and her companions. The MṬ. gives their names.§ The hero Velusumaṇa of Kākavaṇṇatissa had audaciously run away with King Elāra's finest war horse from the stables at Anurādhapura. Elāra sent one of his heroes in pursuit on the second best racing

\* MṬ. 346, 24: *tasmim thāne katam nagaram Nivattagirinagaram nāma jātan ti Aṭṭhakathāya vuttam* (to M. 25, 48).

† MṬ. 313, 15 to M. 22, 42-43 and 49. Cf. above, pp. 40-41.

‡ MṬ. 92, 25-30 is for example a quotation from the Śmp. 283 (from *satahaparinibbute* to *vuttavacanam anusaranto*), literally introduced with *vuttam hoti*.

§ Cūḷagaṇa, Mahāgaṇa, and Sirivaḍḍha: MṬ. 291, 22 to M. 19, 68.

horse. The MṬ. gives the name of this hero and of his horse.\* At another place the tank, which according to the M. was laid out by Duṭṭhagāmani, is named in the MṬ. Pajjotavāpi.†

If we reflect how particularly rich the Ak. was in names, it is rather easy to suppose that the author of the MṬ. borrowed such names from it. The Ak. mentions many names, as we have seen, in the description of the laying the foundation stone of the Mahāthúpa. The MṬ. adds yet two other names. The master who advises the king to construct the thúpa after the model of a bubble, i.e., in a half sphere form, was Sirivaḍḍhaka, "the great healer" (lit. "augmenting the bliss"), his assistant, Acala, "the immovable."‡ Both names contain a favourable omen, and fit in excellently with the other quotations from the Ak., so that they might well have been taken from it.

A number of shorter notices which are introduced by the words *vuttaṃ hoti*, and therefore can be taken as approximately verbal quotations, may likewise be derived from the Ak. Thus, for example, the place where Elāra fell in combat with Duṭṭhagāmani is more accurately described by the words "south from Anurādhapura, west from the village of the potters, and east from the house with the image of Elāra."§ In the same way we find in the MṬ. an exact description of the place where Duṭṭhagāmani defeated Bhalluka.|| The note also belongs here that Anulā, with five hundred maidens and with as many women of the harem, received together ordination from the Therī Saṅghamittā.¶ That kind of statement of numbers appears to have been much in favour in the Ak.

The story of Bhaddaji, MṬ. 405-407, which represents an extension of M. 31, 5-14, might well be derived from the Ak., although the latter is not named as the source. It seems that the whole history of the collecting of the relics for the Mahāthúpa was described in it very copiously. The Ak. is mentioned once by the MṬ. in the course of its paraphrasing discussions, 411, 27. The formality of its version, the diffuseness of its style, in contrast with the concise brevity of the

\* The hero was named *Nandasārathi*, the horse *Siriyutta* : MṬ. 315, 32 and 33 to M. 22, 55.

† MṬ. 346, 3 to M. 25, 51.

‡ MṬ. 387, 17-20 to M. 30, 11, 14.

§ *Anurudhapurassa dakkhiṇadisābhāge kumbhakārayāmapacchime Elārappaṭimāgharassa puratthime ti vuttaṃ hoti* : MṬ. 349, 3-5 to M. 25, 70.

|| *Esa nāgo mahāsusānassa uttaradisābhāge patitthito Puradevassa passato paccosakkivā Mahāvihārassa anto simāya supatitthito acalo hutvā atthāsīti vuttaṃ hoti* : MṬ. 351, 24-27 to M. 25, 87.

¶ *Pañcahi kaṇṇāsatehi pañcahi antepurikāsatehi ca saddhin ti vuttaṃ hoti* : MṬ. 291, 9-10, as explanation to *Anulā sā saparīsā* in M. 19, 64.



M., speaks in favour of the fact that the whole passage was taken from the Ak.

## VII.—Results.

21. We now can recapitulate the whole, and trace the development of the oldest historical tradition in Ceylon.

(1) In the time of Buddhaghosa there existed in Ceylon extensive commentaries to the Tipiṭaka, written in Sinhalese prose and intermixed with Pāli verse. The collective name for this literature was *Aṭṭhakathā* or *Sīhalatṭhakathā*: they are also described as the work of the *Porāṇā*, “of the ancient ones.”

(2) There were such *Aṭṭhakathās* in different monasteries of the Island: at Anurādhapura, in the Mahāvihāra as well as in the Uttaravihāra.

(3) A definite and historical part of the Ak. of the two monasteries mentioned was called the Mahāvamsa. The recension of the Mahāvamsa in the Mahāvihāra and the Uttaravihāra do not appear to have differed very considerably, principally perhaps in detail.

(4) Our M. written by Mahānāma is taken from that part of the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the Mahāvihāra which is called the Mahāvamsa. The groundwork is called in the MT., which has taken its supplements and additions for the most part out of it, simply the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

(5) Our M., as far as the contents are concerned, was a fairly correct translation of the AkM. It supplements the Sinhalese prose of the latter by Pāli verse and avoids certain deficiencies in the original, viz., its frequent repetitions and the uneven character of its account, which is sometimes too short, sometimes too diffuse.

(6) Besides the Ak., other works are mentioned by the MT. Many of them belong probably to the literature of the *Porāṇā*, as, e.g., the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*. Others are without doubt of younger origin. Buddhaghosa's commentaries are also mentioned. The *Cetiya-vamsaṭṭhakathā* appears to be connected with the *Thūpavamsa*.

Two questions now arise: What part did the old Mahāvamsa play within the literature of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, and from what elements did it arise? And, How did the epic poetry of Ceylon represented by the *Dīpavamsa* and our Mahāvamsa develop itself out of the ancient Mahāvamsa of the *Aṭṭhakathā*?

22. Oldenberg\* has suggested that the *Sīhalatṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa* mentioned by the MT. is an historical introduction

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\* The *Dīpavamsa*, Introduction, p. 4.

to the dogmatic part of the Ak., just as Buddhaghosa introduces a similar foreword of historical contents to the Samantapāsādikā, his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya.

But there are many reasons to be put forward against this supposition. Everything seems to suggest that the old M. had very considerable proportions, and contained an enormous amount of detail. We certainly are not mistaken if we estimate it at least as extensive as our MT. One has only to think of the repetitions so strongly condemned. This seems to be somewhat large for an "historical introduction." No doubt it can be shown that the Ak. was extraordinarily comprehensive, and therefore that even the introduction may have been a long one. But another consideration seems to me of more importance. An introduction of the kind that Oldenberg imagines would hardly embrace the whole range of Sinhalese kings as far as Mahāsēna. A transition from this prince to the Tipiṭaka does not seem to be very probable. It is much more likely that such an introduction would have finished with the coming of Buddhism into Ceylon, and with Mahinda, who brought the Tipiṭaka to the Island. It also happens that the fact that it finished with Mahāsēna was not founded on any definite plan, but depended rather on an unfortunate occurrence. If the Mahāvihāra had not been destroyed at that time and depopulated, then the list of kings would without a doubt have been continued further. According to my idea the "Mahāvamsa of the ancients" was an independent chronicle, which the monks of the Mahāvihāra carried on to Mahāsēna, and certainly would have continued still further had they not been disturbed in their peaceable work in some violent manner. The analogy of the chronicles of our mediæval monasteries lies extraordinarily near; but it may be correct that the base of that chronicle was such an introduction to the Tipiṭaka. The proem of the D. speaks at all events in favour of that. This proem was, as can be seen from the MT. QS. *a*, simply the proem of the old M. The subjects were mentioned in it which were to be represented. These are without exception those which belong to the period before Mahinda. There is no account of later times, not even of the great deeds of Duṭṭhagāmani. The proem thus belongs to an epoch in which the extent of the work was smaller than at the time when Mahānāma developed the material into a poem, or when the D. was written. The old framework had burst, and out of the "historical introduction" of the Ak., the "Mahāvamsa of the ancients," the extensive monastery chronicle of the Mahāvihāra, developed.

We have seen before (1-3) that the composition of the D. distinctly indicates an originally oral tradition of the matter

contained. We have further seen (6-7) that in the M., side by side with the monastic tradition, there is found the secular tradition. According to what we have seen in the MT. of the relation of the M. to its groundwork (12-20), we must assume that both phenomena, the traces of the original oral tradition as also of the flowing together of two different traditions, belong to the original work, i.e., the Mahāvamsa of the Aṭṭhakathā.

It will now be possible to produce a picture of the probable origin of the groundwork, as well as of its character.

The oldest part reaches back to monastic tradition, which originally was carried on from mouth to mouth. Oral tradition without doubt played an important part in the history of ancient Buddhism in Ceylon.\* Each tradition may have been composed of legends, following particular events and personalities : thus, for example, the visit of Buddha to the Island, the mission of Mahinda, the arrival of the sacred Bo-tree. A part of these legends were written in Pāli verse; they form the backbone of the whole story; the reciter could thus with their help retain in his memory the whole course of the action. The verses were bound together by independent prose, in the ancient Sinhalese tongue.

This type of legend may have been recited to the people at festivals. Such public recitations in Ceylon are directly borne witness to in the M., also they are found in later times, when oral tradition often took the place of the written. It is related of Vohāraka Tissa (beginning of the third century A.D.) that he instituted regular almsgiving wherever the Ariyavamsa, "the holy book," was recited in Laṅkā. It has already been mentioned in a quotation from the younger M. that Dhātuséna had caused the Dīpavamsa to be publicly recited on the occasion of a memorial festival in honour of Mahinda.†

The legends naturally must show many differences in form, indeed the greater part of the story was left more or less to the judgment of the reciter. When written records began to be preserved, the variants of the story were given as equivalents. This condition of things is given expression to in the D. The way in which this is done I will show later.

But the work was not finished with the collection of monastic traditions. The "Mahāvamsa of the ancients" is

\* Conclusions may be drawn from the passage in D. 20, 20-21 33, 102b-104a, according to which the Tipiṭaka and the Aṭṭhakathā were handed down to Vaṭṭigāmani by word of mouth, although this statement may not be quite correct in its entirety.

† M. 38, 59. Cf. p. 46:—

*Ariyavamsakathājhāne Laṅkādiṭṭhe 'khile pi ca dānavaṭṭam jhapāpesi saddhamme gāravena so.*

certainly not a work completed at one time ; it took the form in which Mahánáma found it, quite gradually in the course of generations. New episodes were always being added on, so that in time it assumed more and more the character of a chronicle. Popular tradition was united with the priestly tradition. Out of this arose the material which is peculiar to the M. It is easy to suppose that the form of the popular tradition differed to some extent from that of the priestly. In the folklore, legends, and romances, as well as in the heroic tales, there was certainly less Páli verse than in the legends of celebrated priests and saints. Popular speech corresponded with folklore material. . .

23. We now come to the Dípavaṃsa. Evidently it is in many parts a compilation of the leading motives and memory verses contained in the AkM. From this reason it is wanting therefore in continuity and good execution.\* But there is yet something more to be said for the D. Single episodes appear to be elaborated, as, for example (17, 26 *et seq.*), the history of the Buddha Kakusandha. Also the list of dynasties in D. 3 (*cf.* pp. 59-61) is probably a versification carried out from a prose model. We find therefore in the D. the first effort towards the poetical development of material, although it is certainly rather clumsy, whilst many parts of it bear the character of the old Akhyána style. It thus builds the bridge which leads from the latter to the Mahávaṃsa, an epic written according to the laws of art.

The fact that the D. especially refers to the Páli verse scattered throughout the Ak. would perhaps alone explain why the priestly tradition in it appears to outweigh everything else. In the legends that can be traced back to it, as

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\* The especially close connection of the D. with its groundwork can be seen from the quotations spoken of on p. 45 *et seq.* The following are the verses found in the D. which the MT. quotes from the *Porāṇā* : MT. 22, 3 and 22, 17 = D. 1, 1 and 4 ; MT. 382, 30 = D. 19, 9 ; MT. 456, 33 = D. 20, 30. From the quotation MT. 50, 12 the first strophe resembles D. 1, 66, and strophe 2 = D. 1, 73. In the Smp. the quotation from the *Porāṇā*, p. 320 = D. 12, 35-37. Other quotations from the Smp., to which no source is given, have also been taken from the D. Thus, for example, p. 321 = D. 12, 51 (M. 14, 8) ; p. 323 (*aḥam buddhañ ca*) = D. 12, 5 ; p. 323 (*avudham*) = D. 12, 52 ; p. 323 (*lāvijjā*) = D. 12, 56. The verses on pp. 316-318 are of interest, which speak of the sending of missionaries to countries adjoining. The following should be compared : v. 1 = D. 8, 4 ; M. 12, 9 *et seq.*, v. 2 = D. 8, 5 ; M. 12, 29, v. 3 = D. 8, 6 ; M. 12, 31, v. 4 = D. 8, 7 ; M. 12, 34, v. 5 = D. 8, 8 ; M. 12, 37, v. 6 = D. 8, 9 ; M. 12, 39, v. 7 = D. 8, 10 *bis* 11 ; M. 12, 41, v. 8 = D. 8, 12 ; M. 12, 44.

The similarity is almost always unmistakable, but none of the verses agree absolutely word for word. Strophe D. 1, 5 is directly taken from the Ak. ; this is mentioned below (M. 21).

already mentioned, Páli verses were most numerously distributed. In the stories taken from the folklore they are seldom found or are wanting entirely. Deliberate purpose and ecclesiastical bias went everywhere side by side. Doubtless this characteristic of the D. stands out more clearly when contrasted with the M.

The conspicuous repetitions constitute a difficulty in the D., but we know that the original work also suffered from this fault. We are able from the MT. to form an idea of the way in which such repetitions came occasionally to be made. Messages were given most probably in the same words at the sending of the order as at the delivery of the message. Thus, e.g., in M. 31, 15 Soṇuttara was sent by the monastery to fetch from the Nága king the relics of Buddha that had been guarded by him. It is said that this corresponded with a prophecy of the Buddha, who at his death ordered that a "dona" should be deposited in Laṅkā in the Maháthúpa with his relics. When Soṇuttara came to the Nága king, it says in M. 31, 48 merely *vatvādhikāraṃ*, that he executed the order. But in the T. (413, 22) the words were again repeated (18-19): *devinda, mama aṭṭhasu sariradhātudonesu ekaṃ doṇaṃ Laṅkādiṇe Maháthúpe nidhānāya bhavissati*.

The following is another example. As Duṭṭhagāmani felt his end drawing nigh, he ordered that his bed should be carried out, so that he could once more see the masterpieces of his life, the Lohapāsāda and the Maháthúpa. Many monks came there in order to get news of the condition of the sick man. Among them the king missed the Thera Puttábhaya. The MT. (424, 3 to M. 32, 11) relates the following story with reference to this. He had been one of the ten heroes of Duṭṭhagāmani, and after the defeat of the Damiḷa had become a monk, in order to fight against a still worse foe, against "desire." This is merely a repetition of the story already related in M. 26, 2, 4. Such a repetition may also have been found in the Ak.

In a similar way, the history of Bhátiya and his visit to the relic chamber of the Maháthúpa is anticipated (MT. 401, 11) with reference to its description (according to M. 30, 97), and recurs in M. 34, 49 in the history of the reign of this king.

These are some examples illustrating repetitions in the work which was the original of the D. and M.; but whether all variants that are found in the D. are to be thus accounted for appears to me still questionable. If we survey them they give the impression as if two versions were placed systematically by the side of each other. The last chapters of the D. seem most clearly to indicate this. Here the kings after

Devānampiyatissa are given in a double list, at least part of them. Certain small differences are to be noticed in it. Thus, for example, the father of Gajabāhu is called in one version simply Tissa (D. 22, 12), in the other (D. 22, 27) Vaṅka-nāsikatissa, as in the M. ; the son of Mahallanāga is called in the one Bhātutissa (D. 22, 18), in the other (D. 22, 30) Bhātika-tissa, the brother of whom is named in one place (D. 22, 23) Tissa and later (D. 22, 31) Kaniṭṭhatissa. The two sons of the latter are not given names at all in one version (D. 22, 26), in the other (D. 22, 32-33) they are called Khujjanāga and Kuṇṇajāga. Similar small differences appear even where the D. introduces the same subject in two different places, in spite of all similarity, which sometimes goes as far as a word for word agreement of every verse. Many of these differences have been mentioned above (p. 5, *et seq.*). They appear to me to indicate that it is not always merely repetition in the above characteristic manner that is in question, but more often it is actually two recensions of the same story.

We may now assume that the original work may have already contained different recensions, which were indebted for their origin to oral tradition, and that they had been placed directly side by side in order to give the whole context of the tradition ; but there remains the other possibility that the compiler of the D. as well as the AkM. of the Mahāvihāra, from which Mahānāma's work was produced, also made use of a second source. This must have stood extraordinarily near to the AkM. of the Mahāvihāra, as to construction and contents ; but it will not surprise us if we remember the result which a comparison of the Ak. of the Uttaravihāra with the original work of the M. has yielded. From the second source the author of the D. took single episodes, where he found noteworthy differences appearing in the tradition. Concerning the age of the D., I must refer to what I have already said on p. 46. It had its origin in the course of the fourth century A.D.

24. We have now reached the point when literary development needs the rise of the epic.

In the middle of the fifth century there was in Ceylon the voluminous chronicle which was a part of the Ak., and which was designated "the Mahāvamsa of the ancients." It was a kind of encyclopædia of all the history of Ceylon comprising legends and traditions. On the other hand, the D. represented a first, although clumsy, effort to put into form the mass of material stored up in that chronicle. The most notable thing in this attempt is perhaps the circumstance that the old Sinhalese language in which the Ak. was written had at that

time quite been given up. As the language of the church, Páli began to be in force. The author of the D., who was still rather unskilful in the handling of Páli, confined himself therefore especially to the material that already was in Páli in the Ak., viz., the verses interspersed throughout.

The beginning of the fifth century saw an important development of literary life in Ceylon through Buddhaghosa's activity. Páli became definitely once more the ecclesiastical and literary language of the Buddhists. Buddhaghosa himself mastered this language fully. And then came Mahánáma, and the old sagas and histories of the Ak. found in him a better trained reviser. A certain conservatism was still in existence. Mahánáma could not yet rise quite above his material. He confined himself to his source to the best of his power. It is clear that certain sections in the M. are merely versifications of the corresponding passage in the original work. Often Mahánáma adopted the Páli verses of the original unchanged into his work, especially if they bore an authoritative character. That is the case, for example, where the D. and M. agree word for word. Mahánáma is no genius, and his work is not a literary performance of the first rank; nevertheless the M. signifies, in comparison with the D., a great æsthetic advance.

The level of epic poetry is reached with the M., but the process of literary development is not yet fully accomplished. The material of the old chronicle had not been quite exhausted by Mahánáma. The author of the MT. produces out of this still a number of supplements and additions. Other allied material was handed down in other works. From this material Moggallána in later times created the enlarged Mahávamsa, the KM., in which he incorporated new episodes into the epic of Mahánáma. It would be of interest to know whether also in other manuscripts, either of Ceylon or of Southern India, similar revisions are to be found of the Mahávamsa.

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## CHAPTER III.

*Historical Tradition outside the Epic.*

## VIII.—Introduction to the Samanta-Pāsādikā, the Mahābodhivaṃsa, the Dāṭhāvamsa, and the Thūpavamsa.

25. The historical introduction with which Buddhaghosa prefaced his Samanta-Pāsādikā\* is of especial interest to us. We have here a work which lies between the two epics in point of time, and consequently preserves the historical tradition in an older style than the M. The contents of the Smp. run very closely parallel with the M. We see so much verbal agreement between them that there can be no question of mere coincidence. This may be explained by the fact that the two works, the Smp. as well as the M., are both derived from the same source, the Aṭṭhakathā, and both reflect their source with fair exactness.

The Smp. commences with the events immediately following the death of Buddha, and then goes on to the history of the first two Councils. It is rather remarkable here that the account of these two Councils is also given in the CV., XI. and XII.† Buddhaghosa's account of the First Council is taken from CV., XI., 1-8. He transfers whole sections, word for word, from his model, and enlarges them presumably from the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā. It is characteristic that verbal agreement with the text of the M. occurs in those passages which are found in the Smp., but not in the CV.‡

The Second Council is treated quite concisely in the Smp. (p. 293, 22 seq.); the account is borrowed word for word from

\* Edited by Oldenberg. The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ, vol. III., p. 283. I quote according to page and line.

† Oldenberg, the Vinaya Piṭakaṃ, II., p. 284 seq.

‡ Cf. Smp. 287, 12: *niṭṭhitaṃ mahārāja viḥārapaṭisaṅkharāṇaṃ, idāni dhammavinayasaṅgahaṃ karoma*, with M. 3, 17:—

*viḥārapaṭisaṅkhāre niṭṭhite āhu bhūpatiṃ |  
idāni dhammasaṅgitiṃ karissāma mayam iti. ||*

Or Smp. 287, 30 seq. with M. 3, 21-22; Smp. 288, 6 seq. with M. 3, 24; Smp. 289, 1-2 with M. 3, 29; Smp. 289, 13 seq. with M. 3, 31. The possibility that Mahānāma has borrowed from the Smp. must here be left open.



the CV., XII., 1, 1. There is agreement also between the text of the Smp. and that of the M.\*

We should naturally expect similarity between the Smp. and the D., not only in the history of the Councils, but also in later sections. Both works depend on the same source, and besides this, Buddhaghosa names and quotes the D., although the actual wording of his D. was somewhat different from the one we know.† Of the quotation in 294, 23 *seq.*, the verse lines 2-6 = D. 4, 49-51.

The history of Moggaliputtatissa, who presided over the Third Council, begins in Smp. 294, 32, and is in exact agreement with M. 5, 98 *et seq.*; then that of Asoka in 299, 17 = M. 5, 19-34, D. 6, 1-14. Then follows in 300, 12 *et seq.* the episode of the Nága king, Kála = M. 5, 89 *et seq.*; and that of Nigrodha in 300, 32 *et seq.* = M. 5, 36 *et seq.*, D. 6, 24 *et seq.* On p. 304, 12-306, 17, the account is given of Asoka's festival at the dedication of the monastery, and in connection with that, the entrance into the order of Mahinda and Saṅghamittá = M. 5, 174-213, D. 7, 1-31. Upon this follows 306, 18 *et seq.* the story of the Thera Kontiputtatissa = M. 5, 213-230, the history of the decline of the church and of the outrage which one of Asoka's ministers indulged in against the orthodox monks = M. 5, 231-243. The reference to the Thera Tissa on this occasion gives an opportunity for the history of his conversion to be added (307, 32). This corresponds to the section in M. 5, 155-174. The passage is not found in the D. The Smp. again takes up the thread on p. 309, 4, and gives an account of Asoka's remorse, and of the Third Council, in agreement with M. 5, 242-282. An *Ācariyaparampará* is inserted in 313, 5-314, 15. Then follows the history of the missions in 314, 16-318, 25, corresponding to M. 12. The passage is especially instructive. The story in prose is constantly interrupted by quotations in verse. Buddhaghosa has evidently taken them from the Aṭṭhakathá. Each of these quotations recur in the M. Thus, that on p. 315 = M. 12, 16-18, the first on p. 316 = M. 12, 22. The others agree more or less with the corresponding verses in the D. I should mention however that the Smp. contains the stories of the Nága king in Kasmíra, and of the Rakkhasi in the Golden Land, in agreement with the M., but that they are wanting in the D., or are only just mentioned.

On p. 318, 26 the history of Mahinda and his mission commences = M. 13. This is interrupted by a list of the kings of Ceylon and India, 320-321. On p. 321, 15 the account is

\* Cf. Smp. 294, 3 *et seq.* with M. 4, 13.

† Cf. also Oldenberg, *Dīpavamsa*, Introduction, p. 9.

again taken up, corresponding to the beginning of M. 14. In 321, 35-323, 11 is inserted the story of the relations there had been between Devánampiyatissa and Asoka before Mahinda's arrival = M. 11, 7 *et seq.*, D. 11, 14 *et seq.*, and 12, 1 *et seq.* The story of the conversion of the king and the first sermon corresponds exactly with the account of the M. as far as 15, 26; also that of the dedication of the Cetiya monastery, 327, 18-328, 6 to M. 16, and that of the collecting of the relics, 328, 7-333, 18 to the account in M. 17. The last-named history is twice interrupted: on p. 330, 17-331, 21 by a short survey of the last three Buddhas before Gotama, and their connection with Ceylon = M. 15, 57 *et seq.*, D. 15, 34 *et seq.*; and on p. 332, 26-333, 3 by the reference to the visits of Gotama Buddha to the Island.

With reference to the mention of Anulá and of her decision to become a nun (333, 19 = M. 15, 18 *et seq.*), there follows the history of the bringing over of the sacred tree accompanied by the Therí Saṅghamittá, agreeing exactly with the two chapters of the M., 18 and 19. Finally in 340, 32 *et seq.* follows the story of the dedication of the sacred sites in Anurádhapura, which is found in M. 15, 36 *et seq.*

26. The few examples of verbal agreement of the M. with the Smp., which I have mentioned above, can be easily added to. They are to be found everywhere. I will select a few:—

Smp. 312, 9 *et seq.*: *rājā sattame divase Asokārāme bhikkhusaṅghaṃ sannipátápetvá sáṇipákāraṃ parikkhápápetvá sáṇipákārantare nisinno ekaladdhike ekaladdhike bhikkhú ekato ekato káretvá ekamekaṃ bhikkhusamúhaṃ pakkosápetvá pucchi: kimvádi sammásambuddho? 'ti.* = M. 5, 268 *et seq.*: *sattame divase gantvá sakárāmaṃ manoramaṃ || káresi bhikkhusaṅghassa sannipátam asesato | therena saha ekante nisinno sáṇi-antare || ekekaladdhike bhikkhú pakkosítvána santikaṃ: | kimvádi sugato bhante? iti pucchi mahápati.*

Smp. 321, 21 *et seq.*: *rājā disvá ayuttaṃ dāni pamattaṃ vijjhítun ti jiyam phoṭesi.* = M. 14, 4: *rājā disvá pamattaṃ tam na yuttaṃ vijjhítun iti jiyásaddam aká.*

Smp. 323, 27 *et seq.*: *thero atthi nu kho rañño paññáveyyattikan ti vímaṃsaṇatthāya ásannaambarukkhaṃ árabbha pañhaṃ pucchi: kimnámo ayam mahárāja rukkhó 'ti. ambarukkhó náma bhante 'ti. imaṃ pana mahárāja ambaṃ muñcivá añño ambo atthi n'atthíti. atthi bhante aññe pi bahú ambarukkhá 'ti. imañ ca ambaṃ te ca ambe muñcivá atthi nu kho mahárāja aññe rukkhá 'ti. atthi bhante, te pana na ambarukkhá 'ti. aññe ambe ca anambe ca muñcivá atthi pana añño rukkhó 'ti. ayam eva bhante ambarukkhó 'ti. sádhu mahárāja paṇḍito 'si.* = M. 14, 16 *et seq.*: *vimaṃsam so mahápañño pañhaṃ pañhaṃ apucchi*

so | *puṭṭho puṭṭho viyākāsi taṃ taṃ pañham mahīpati.* || *rukko*  
'*yaṃ rāja kiṃnāmo ? ambo nāma ayaṃ taru.* | *imaṃ muñciya*  
*atth' ambo ? santi ambatarū bahū.* || *imañ ca ambaṃ te c' ambe*  
*muñciy' atthi mahīruhā ?* | *santi bhante bahū rukkhā, anambā*  
*pana te tarū.* || *aññe ambe anambe ca muñciy' atthi mahīruhā ?—*  
*ayam bhadaṇṭ' ambarukko. paṇḍito 'si narissara.*||

I have here chosen only those passages in which the D. shows no parallels. I wanted to show that the historical tradition, even outside that which the D. gives, was already fixed in its details before the time of the M. It is not to be wondered at that here and there the Smp. is nearer to the D. than to the M. in its language. In these cases Mahānāma, who everywhere showed poetical individuality, has only distanced himself a little more from his original.\* It is not surprising also, if at times, as in the rendering of proper names, small differences are to be found between the Smp. and the M.† Such differences may have been present in the different versions of the Ak. which existed in Buddhaghosa's and in Mahānāma's time.

It is also an important fact that the Smp. was often made use of in later literature. We have already observed that the Mahāvamsa-Tīkā mentions it. But shorter and longer sections are also taken from it by the MT. without actually naming it as a source. The exact verbal agreement—for it is in fact this that we have to do with, and not merely similarities such as we find between the Smp. and the M.—excludes the suggestion that two translations of the same original, viz., the Ak., are in question.‡

The Pāli-Thūpavamsa has similarly taken over entire sections of the text, omitting only a sentence or phrase here and there. This is the case in the section over Asoka, also with the mission of Mahinda and the arrival of the Bó-tree.

\* Cf., e.g., Smp. 326, 1: *rājā there paṇitena khādanīyena bhojanīyena sahaṭṭhā santappetvā sampavāretvā...* = D. 12, 81: *paṇitaṃ bhojanaṃ rājā sahaṭṭhā sampavārayi* (cf. Oldenberg, Dip., at this place), but M. 14, 55: *te yāgukhaññabhojjeḥi sayam rājā atappayi.* — Smp. 334, 25: *bhāriyaṃ me bhātuno vacanaṃ, Anulāpi khattiyā iṭṭhi-sahassaparivutā pabbajjāpurekkhārā maṃ patimāneti; qacchām' ahaṃ mahārāja* = M. 18, 18, but D. 15, 94b-95 stands nearer according to the wording.

† Cf. Oldenberg, notes 5-7, to Smp. 340. *Pañhambamālaka* in M. 15, 38 corresponds to *Ambagaṇa* in Smp. 341, 7 and 14. The account in the Smp. mentions nothing of *Catussālā* (M. 15, 47).

‡ Such direct borrowings are, e.g., MT. 151, 16 *et seq.* = Smp. 308, 11 *et seq.*; MT. 162, 18-22 = Smp. 309, 17-21; MT. 218, 24 *et seq.* = Smp. 315, 10 *et seq.*; MT. 280, 9 *et seq.* and 3 *et seq.* = Smp. 336, 21 *et seq.* and 32 *et seq.*

§ PThv. 28, 17 *et seq.* = Smp. 299, 17 *et seq.* In general, PThv. 28-32 and 33-44, 4 = Smp. 299-341.

With regard to text criticism, some results should be obtained from the documentary connection between the Smp. and the Thv.\*

Finally, the Smp. introduces here and there passages which are not found in the D. and M. These supplement the contents of the epic. Thus, for example, it is related on p. 310, 12 *et seq.* that Asoka dreamed on the night before the arrival of Moggaliputtatissa (*cf.* M. 5, 246b *et seq.*) that a white elephant had struck him with its trunk, and had seized his right hand. The interpreter of dreams drew from this that an important monk—a *samañanaga*—would seize his right hand.† In reality Tissa does this on the following day when landing from the ship, in spite of the possibility of it drawing down on him the punishment of death. The thera foreshadowed symbolically that he regarded the king as his pupil. The Smp. 311, 32 *et seq.* also sketches briefly the contents of the Tittirajāataka which Tissa related to the king.

I think it can be assumed with fair certainty that the introduction to the Smp. goes back to the same original as the M., *i.e.*, to the old Mahāvamsa of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā. Buddhaghosa certainly restricted himself to the rendering of such sections from the chronicle which appeared to him important for his special purpose. He concludes with the history of Mahinda. But in the passages which he gave he kept strictly to the original, as Mahānāma did later. Thus is explained the great similarity between the Smp. and the M., even to the wording. It can therefore naturally be supposed that the Smp. here and there contains a passage from the Ak. that is omitted in the M., and the reverse. It is also not impossible that Mahānāma consulted the Smp. itself, and educated himself by Buddhaghosa's classical Pāli.

Finally, with regard to the verse quotations from the Smp., two are quoted from the *Porāṇā*: p. 319 = D. 12, 12-13a (the last two lines are not in the D.) and p. 320 = D. 12, 35-37. The Dīpavaṃsa itself is named as source for the quotations 322 = D. 11, 15 and 322-323 = D. 12, 1-4. If our text of the D.

\* Thus, in Smp. 301, 7, instead of *evaṃ cintetvā āmacce āgacchatha* . . . should be read *evaṃ cintetvā āmacce āha : gacchatha* . . . . *Cf.* Thv. 29, 31-32. Also in Smp. 319, 20-21, instead of *ekamāsaṃ tatth' eva saṃkappesi* it is much better to read according to Thv. 35, 7, *ekamāsaṃ tatth' eva vāsaṃ kappesi*. On the other hand, Thv. 41, 5, *thūpaṃ akāṃsu*, according to Smp. 333, 16, ought to be altered to *pūjaṃ akāṃsu*. The corrections of Oldenberg, *karontūti* 326, 4, *mahatā* 327, 24, and *apana-matu* 329, 28, are substantiated by Thv. 37, 22; 38, 12; 39, 26.

† To touch the king is an act worthy of death: *etaṃ kira cārittaṃ rājakulesu : yo rājanam hatthe gaṇhātī, tassa asinā sisaṃ pātetabban ti* (Smp. 310, 23). A true feature of folklore, which certainly can be traced to the Ak. *Cf.* Frazer, The Golden Bough, I., 344.

differs from the quotations of the Smp. to any extent, it can be explained by the fact that Buddhaghosa may have had before him a different recension from ours. Also there is the possibility that he quoted only from memory. Of the quotations for which no source is given, there are those found also in the M., on p. 291 = M. 3, 40b (part); on p. 315 = M. 12, 16-18; on p. 316, 3-5 = M. 12, 22; on p. 332 = M. 17, 56. We can be quite certain that these verses were already to be found in the Ak. It is therefore noteworthy that the two quotations on pp. 315 and 316 are in direct narration. In the D. the quotation on p. 294 = D. 4, 49 *et seq.* and that on p. 323, 16 = D. 12, 52. Also the verses on pp. 316-318 correspond with the verses in D. 8, 4-10, 12, although not always exactly in wording. Here again must be considered what I said before. It is certain that those quotations which are equally found in the Smp., the D., and the M., already stood in the Ak.: p. 321 = D. 12, 51; M. 14, 8, as well as 323, 5-8 = D. 12, 5-6; M. 11, 34-35 and 323, 23-24 = D. 12, 56; M. 14, 14. Lastly I refer to the two quotations on p. 313, 9 *et seq.* and 19 *et seq.* from the *ácariyaparampará*. This evidently is a quotation from the Ak., as analogous passages in the D. show. These lists of names of the important heads of the church have passed on into later literature, e.g., Nik., pp. 10-11.

27. The *Mahá Bodhi Vamsa*\* begins with a history of the Buddha Dípañkara, it then enumerates the existences of the Bodhisatta under former Buddhas, and goes on to describe the life of Gotama Buddha up to the night of the enlightenment. With that the first chapter ends (p. 34). In the whole of this section the close dependence of the introduction on the *Játakas*, on the *J á t a k a - N i d á n a k a t h á*, is unmistakable.† Usually the representation in the MBv. is shorter and more like an epitome, but the style is much more artificial, often affected.

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\* The *Mahá-Bodhi-Vamsa*, ed. by S. A. Strong, PTS. 1891. „Maha-bódhiwansa, by . . . . . Upatisse, with a Sinhalese Paraphrase. . . . . revised by P. Sarananda Thero of Mirissa, Colombo, 1891 (incomplete). I quote according to page and line from the edition of the PTS. For the *Elu-Bodhivamsa*, which is a later adaptation of the work in Páli, see Wickremasinghe, *Catal. of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus.*, pp. 22-23.

† Verbal identity is not rare. One can compare, e.g., MBv. 24, 27 *et seq.*: *távad eva taṃ surayuvatisadisarūpāsobbhāvarayuvatiyo mādihura-ravāni turīyāni gahetvāna mahāpurisaṃ samparivāretvā ramayantiyo naccagītavādītāni payojayimsu*, with JNk. 61, 14 *et seq.*: *távad eva naṃ sabbālaṅkārapatimaṇḍitā naccagītādisu susikkhitā deva-kāññā vīya rūpappattā itthiyo nānāturiyāni gahetvā samparivārayitvā abhiramā-pentiyo naccagītavādītāni payojayimsu*. Or MBv. 31, 4 with JNk. 17, 28; MBv. 32, 5 with JNk. 73, 26, &c.

The JNk. without doubt depends on the Ak. It is the medium through which the tradition of the history of the Buddhas, and especially of the Gotama, has travelled over from the Ak. into the MBv., and, as we shall see further, into later literature. This has already been proved in connection with the Mṭ. It is characteristic that the history of Sumedha is treated in detail, while that of the remaining Buddhas is quite summarily dealt with. The same was no doubt the case in the Ak.

The JNk. is also the foundation for the first paragraph of the second chapter, the *Ānandabodhikathā*.\* The section gives its title, as in it is especially mentioned how Ānanda planted at the Jetavana a seed of the sacred tree from Uruvelā. On this occasion Buddha related the *Kālingabodhi-jātaka*. The author has taken the material for the second half of the second chapter from the introduction to this history in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, and from the *Kālingabodhi-jātaka* itself.†

In the following chapters, after the story of Nirvāṇa, the MBv. takes up the history of the Three Councils (85-111), Mahinda's mission to Laṅkā (*Laṅkāvataraṇakathā*, 111-117), his entrance into the town of Anurādhapura, the dedication of the Mahāvihāra and the Cetiyaḡirivihāra, the bringing of the relics and the Bo-tree. The direct dependence on the two sources—the *Saṃanta-Pāsādikā* and the *Mahāvamsa*—is here distinctly seen.

The greater part is taken from the Smp. The two texts agree so often verbally that the idea is quite excluded that the Smp. and the MBv. are independent translations of the same Sinhalese copy, and the supposition of direct borrowing becomes necessary. Now and then the style of the MBv. is more affected. The *epitheta ornantia* are plentiful, sentences which are separate in the Smp. are here grouped together with long periods. The account in the MBv. often bears the character of an extract from the Smp.‡

But the influence of the M. is unmistakable. It shows itself most clearly in a number of small supplements which are

\* Namely the history of the dedication of the Jetavana (p. 46), with which the JNk. apparently closes. We find verbal agreement, e.g., in MBv. 36, 3 = JNk. 77, 6; MBv. 43, 5 = JNk. 91, 10.

† *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, IV., p. 228 *et seq.*; MBv. 58-82. I do not consider it necessary to quote examples of literal borrowing. They can be seen from quite a cursory comparison of the texts.

‡ Thus MBv. 85, 14-87, 3 = Smp. 283, 6-284, 30; also MBv. 88, 1-89, 3 = Smp. 287, 12-34, &c. The history of Nigrodha and the legend of Mahākāla in the MBv. 100-102 are examples of an extract with verbal similarity from the Smp. 300, 12 *et seq.* and 301, 20 *et seq.*; likewise the *Nagarappavesanakathā*, 117 *et seq.* = Smp. 312 *et seq.* The *Tatīya-aṅgītikathā* 98-111 shows freer handling. Further examples are unnecessary.

added to the passages taken from the Smp. and which originate from the M. or are at least found there. To these belong the enumeration of the Indian kings from Ajátasattu to Kálásoka (96, 1 *et seq.* = M. 4, 1 *et seq.*), also that of the different sects (96, 4 *et seq.* = M. 5, 1 *et seq.*). The detail is interesting that the summons to the monks to attend the Third Council is presented by two Yakkhas (*Yakkhadvayena*, 109, 2). This is also related in M. 5. 267b. Finally, I must mention the episode in which is related how Devánampiyatissa took Bhaṇḍuka on one side in order to inquire from him of Mahinda (119, 19 *et seq.*). It is found in M. 14, 29-30, but not in the Smp.

More conclusive still is the agreement in the distribution and arrangement of material. The chapters *Nagarappavesanā-kathā* (117 to 122), *Mahāvihārapaṭiggahanakathā* (122-138), *Cetiyaḡiripaṭiggahanakathā* (138-139), *Dhātuvāgamanakathā* (139-144) correspond exactly to the chapters XIV., XV., XVI., XVII. of the M., the last chapter *Dumindāgamanakathā* to chapters XVIII. and XIX. of the M. The details of the events are also related in similar order in the M., one by one. This is the case, for example, in the account of the dedication of the different sacred places in the Mahāvihāra (124-126) and in the episode in which Mahinda relates the history of the last four Buddhas (126-132). The Smp. gives these passages at another place and in a different connection than the M., but the MBv. agrees with the latter.

The verse quotations, which the MBv. gives from the M., are however quite conclusive. The chapters enumerated above all end with the same closing verse as the corresponding chapter in the M.\* But these closing verses, which moralize on the contents of the section, are certainly written by Mahānāma, and were not already to be found in the Ak. It is interesting also that the verses which the MBv. quotes in the episode of Mahinda's arrival in Laṇkā (117-118) agree in wording with the verses of the M., while the verses in the corresponding passage in the Smp. (321-324) agree with those

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\* M. 14, 65 on p. 122; M. 15, 232 on p. 138; M. 16, 18 on p. 139; M. 17, 65 on p. 144. The closing strophe M. 18, 68 is quoted on p. 153, the one 19, 84 on p. 171. Quotations from the M. are found elsewhere; thus, 115 = M. 12, 55; 117 = M. 13, 21 (the closing verse in both); further, 149 = M. 18, 34; 150 = M. 18, 42; 151 = M. 18, 47 and 54; 152 = M. 18, 57 and 58. As if originating from the Ak., the MBv. 134-135 and 136 gives verses M. 15, 192-198 and 200-210. I do not think that these verses are to be found in the Ak. D. 14, 286 speaks rather against it, where they read differently. The M. was reckoned the same as the old Ak. by the author of the MBv.

in the D.\* Buddhaghosa had only the latter before him. At the time of the composition of the MBv. the authority of the M. had already thrown the D. into the shade.

The Jātaka-Nidānakathā, or the Jātakatṭhakathā, the Samanta-Pāsādikā, and the Mahāvamsa are thus the chief sources of the MBv. In comparison with them all others may be put into the background. But still, traces of other sources can be found in the MBv., namely, isolated references, notes, and names, which are not to be found in any of these other works. The same is also the case with regard to the end of the MBv. (162-171).† Thus, the names of the nine Nanda princes are given, *e.g.*, 98, 9 *et seq.*, which are not mentioned in the M.‡ In the history of the later Buddhas, the MBv. gives always the names of the kings and the chief cities whence the shoot of the holy tree was brought to Ceylon.§ Finally, the names Vidhurinda, Sumitta, and Bodhigutta in the *Dumindigamana-kathā* are given (153, 26 ; 154, 12). The MBv. as we shall see at once, is somewhat older than the MT., which was written between the years 1000 and 1250, with its material for the most part taken from the Ak.; it is not at all improbable that such supplementary isolated passages are derived direct from the Ak.

Something should be said concerning the age of the MBv. It appears from its introduction to be a translation of a Sinhalese work into the Māgadhī. But if it can be proved that it used the M. as its pattern, then Strong's hypothesis breaks down, according to which the author of the MBv. was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. Strong draws his conclusion thus: The Gandhavamsa mentions the Bodhivamsa, as well as a Thera Upatissa among the famous *ācariya* of Ceylon. In the Sāsana-vamsa Upatissa is named as the author, or rather as the translator of the Bodhivamsa. According to the tradition, Upatissa was induced to do his work by the Thera Dāṭhānāga. This therā is identical with the Dāṭṭha who, according to the Gv., induced Buddhaghosa to write the commentary to the

\* See 117 under = M. 14, 8 = D. 12, 51 ; 118 = M. 11, 34-35, against D. 12, 5-6 (Smp. 323) ; 118, 17 = M. 14, 14, against D. 12, 56 (Smp. 323).

† Only the short passage 167, 3 *et seq.* is taken from Smp. 340, 26 *et seq.*

‡ These do not occur in the MT., but we find them in the KM. 984 *et seq.*, where they perhaps were taken from the MBv., as well as in the Nik., p. 6 below. See paragraph 30.

§ There are the names Khema and Khamāvatī (127, 5 and 6 to M. 15, 79), Sobhā (128, 16 and 17 to M. 15, 113), Bārāṇasī and Brahmadatta (130, 1 and 2 to M. 15, 148). They are also found in MT. 247, 4 ; 250, 21-22 ; 253, 4 (but here Kiki instead of Brahmadatta), and have from these passed over into the KM. 2201, 2237b-2238a, 2274b-2275a



Díghanikáya. Thus Upatissa and Buddhaghosa are contemporaries.\* The mistake lies in identifying Daṭṭha with Dāthánāga. But happily we know the latter through other sources, and are able to conclude therefrom a plausible result for the age of the MBv. Dāthánāga is mentioned in M. 54, 36 as an important monk of the time of King Mahinda IV., who was a zealous patron of the Buddhist faith. The MBv. was therefore written in the last quarter of the 10th century. We must imagine the manner of transmission to have happened in the following way: the Sinhalese text was not directly translated, but it was improved upon by a Páli text, supplementing the works which in the meantime had attained great authority. We notice the same process, as later we shall see, with the Thúpavamsa.

28. We are sufficiently informed of the period in which the Dāṭhávamsa† originated in the work itself. The author gives his name in the closing verses as Dhammakitti. In the introduction, after the conventional veneration of the *rattanattayam*, he admits that his poem is the translation into the Mágadhí of a Sinhalese original. He has finished it at the suggestion of the General Parákrama, by whom the widow of Parákramabáhu, Lílávati, was raised to the throne. This event is also shortly mentioned in M. 80, 49 *et seq.*‡ It happened, according to the usual chronology, in the year 1211 A.D.: the Dāṭháv. must have been written a short time after this.§ It is thus some decades older than the Thv., which was written, as we shall see, in the middle of the 13th century.

The introductory chapter I. of the Dāṭháv. corresponds, as far as the matter is concerned, entirely with the introduction to the MBv. (as far as p. 38). It begins (v. 11) with the

\* Cf. Strong, Preface VIII. *et seq.*, where he is influenced by Sobhita, who in the introduction to his edition (1890) discussed likewise the question of the authorship.

† The Dāṭhávamsa, ed. Rhys Davids, JPTS., 1884, p. 109 *et seq.*; compare also p. XII. Dāṭhavanso, or the History of the Tooth Relic, with its Sinhalese Paraphrase, by Acariya Dharmakirti Maha Terunnanse of Pulastinagara, A.B. 1762, ed. by Asabha Tissa Terunnanse, Kelaniya, 1883. In the Gv. 72, 5, ed. Mmāyffe, JPTS., 1886, it says, *Dantadhātu, vaṇṇanā nāma pakaraṇaṃ Laṅkādhīp'issārassa rañño senāpatiyāyūcītena Dhammakitti-nāmadcariyena katham.*

‡ Cf. Wijesinha's note to this passage, The Mahāvamsa, translated, p. 269.

§ Asabha Tissa gives the year 1762 after Buddha = 1219 A.D. As de Zoysa says (Catal., p. 16), it is improbable that the Sinhalese original was written in the 9th year of Sirimeghavamsa. This is, according to M. 37, 92-93, the year in which the *dāṭhādhātu* came to Ceylon. The Dāṭháv. mentions also in 5, 68 King Buddhadasa (341-370), and there is no reason to suppose that this verse did not already exist in the Sinhalese original. It is noteworthy that the "Dāṭhādhātuvamsa" is mentioned in the above quoted passage of the M. Cf. p. 19.

existence of the Bodhisatta as Sumedha under the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. It goes briefly into the later existences, like the MBv. (v. 22), and then describes how the Bodhisatta determined in the Tusita heaven to become a man. To this is added (v. 26 *et seq.*) the short history of Gotama Buddha as far as the sermon at Benares. One sees that there was already a conventional pattern for this type of introduction; it was the rule to begin with the first *vyākaraṇa*, and to come gradually to the main subject through the history of Buddha. We shall find repeated examples of this.

Chapter II. concerns itself with the visits of Buddha to Ceylon; here it follows closely the M., which in this part forms the source for the Dāthāv. Verbal agreement also occurs, sometimes exact, sometimes more or less remote.\* The death of Buddha and the events following are related according to the Mahāparinibbānasutta, which is exactly quoted. I should remark that the verses 2, 29–37 are evidently used by the author of the Thv. as his model for the description of Buddha's Nirvāṇa (pp. 17, 8–13; 18, 36–19, 1). The almost verbal agreement proves this.

The distribution of the relics leads then (2, 57) to the true theme of the Dāthāv.—the history of the tooth relic. Khema has it in his possession and brings it first to the Kāliṅga king, Brahmadaṭṭa. Its further fate is described in detail, until it at last is brought to Ceylon, in the 9th year of the reign of King Sirimeghavajña (304–332), after which, having confirmed the truth of its identity by miraculous appearances, it obtained great reverence.

With this part of the Dāthāv. we get beyond the limits of the tradition supplied by the epic. We can distinguish in the tradition two constituent parts. One is of Indian origin. The tales of the earlier Buddhas belong here, the life history of Gotama Buddha, the history of the First Council and part of that of the Second,† the names and deeds of the Indian kings. To this is added, as a second constituent part, the local traditions of Ceylon—the legends of Buddha's visits to the Island, the legends and mythical account of Vijaya and the early princes of Laṅkā, the history of the Third Council and Mahinda's mission, the traditions, partly historical, of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his ancestors in Malaya, and the history of the later kings of Ceylon.

\* Dāthāv. 2, 1–6 = M. 1, 19–30; Dāthāv. 2, 7 = M. 1, 31–32; Dāthāv. 2, 8–9 = M. 1, 33–36; Dāthāv. 2, 10–18 = M. 1, 44–70 (*cf.* especially Dāthāv. 2, 12–13, with M. 1, 52–53!); Dāthāv. 2, 19–28 = M. 1, 71–83 (Dāthāv. 2, 21, here almost word for word = M. 1, 75 and 2, 22 is quite similar to 1, 76).

† *Cf.* Kern, "Manual of Indian Buddhism," p. 105 *et seq.*

While the Indian part of the tradition, as far as concerns the epic derived from the *Aṭṭhakathá*, must be considered as closed, the local tradition lived on, and moreover rapidly enlarged itself. We have seen how much of this popular tradition had been transferred to the groundwork of the *M.*, and how it had grown out of the framework of the *Aṭṭhakathá* and become a comprehensive chronicle of the sacred Island. Without doubt a great deal of material was still circulating in popular stories, or was written down in local chronicles, which was not worked up in the *M.* To such sources we should trace back the account as it lies before us in the *Dátháv.* and similar works.\* We shall see that the *Dhátuvamsa* makes use of traditions from Malaya in a similar way. When, for example, the introduction of the *Dátháv.* becomes quite conventional, it then rises in the course of events, as far as the value of the contents are concerned, above those almost exclusively compiled works which reproduce the substance of the *Aṭṭhakathá* only in an altered form, such as the *MBv.* and the *Thv.*

I will add a few words on a small Sinhalese work called the *Daḷadápújavalī*,† although the Sinhalese sources are not touched on until the next section. The *Daḷ. Púj.* is not much more than a paraphrase of the *Dátháv.* It begins with a few quotations from the *D*, which afterwards were made use of exactly in a similar way by the author of the *Rájaratn.* as introduction—one is simply a copy of the other—and then gives on p. 3 the history of *Dípañkara-Sumedha*, the Buddha's life to the *sambodhi*, and on p. 8 the three visits of Buddha to *Laṅkā*. A number of quotations out of the *M.*‡ show the latter to be its last source. Buddha's death and the distribution of the relics lead then on p. 12 to the main subject. How closely the paraphrase follows the original, the

\* As an example the *Haṭṭhavanagallavihāravamsa* may also serve, which is one of the most interesting works of the younger Pāli literature. It was written in the middle of the thirteenth century (Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinh. Manus., pp. 70-71), and treats of the history of the King Saṅghabodhi from his birth to his death resulting from self devotion, as well as the history of the monastery in which he lived after his renunciation of the throne. The story in *M.* 36, 58-97 forms the framework (the episode *M.* 36, 82 *et seq.* is, e.g., contained in chapter VI.), but the local story has further added to it chapter IX., in which the lamentation of the queen for a lost husband is depicted, is not without poetical inspiration. Cf. J. d'Alwis, Descript. Catal. of Skt., P., and Sinh. Works, pp. 11-39.

† I quote from the careful edition of the Vidyāsāgara Press, Colombo, 1893, which is mentioned in Wickremasinghe's Catal. of Sinh. Printed Books, p. 41.

‡ Pp. 8-10 follow in turn *M.* 1, 26, 27, 19, 34, 43, 47, 72, 75, 76; p. 11, *M.* 7, 4. The quotations on pp. 1-2 are found in *D.* 9, 2 and 4, 6, 21-22.

Dāthāv., the quotations taken from the latter show, which are scattered throughout the Sinhalese text: p. 12 = Dāthāv. 2, 61; p. 14 = 2, 101; p. 15 = 2, 123 and 3, 2; p. 16 = 3, 13-14; p. 21 = 3, 54-55; p. 22 = 3, 61; p. 23 = 3, 71; p. 24 = 3, 87-89; p. 26 = 4, 3; p. 27 = 4, 16, and 18; p. 29 = 4, 36; p. 31 = 4, 56; p. 33 = 5, 24. It is different in the concluding passages. The Dāthāv. does not mention any of the kings after Kittisiri-meghavanṇa, in whose ninth year the Daḷadā should have been brought to Ceylon, except Buddhadasa his nephew and second successor. The Daḷ. Pūj. mentions on pp. 34-38 a great number of princes who distinguished themselves in the worship of the sacred relic. The one named in this connection is Parākramabāhu IV., who came to the throne in 1295. In his reign the Daḷ. Pūj. was evidently written, for he is called, on p. 37. last line, *apa-gé* ("our") *Sri-Parākramabāhu*.

The Daḷ. Pūj. does not thus attain an independent importance within the historical literature of Ceylon. I suppose that the same can be said of two other works, treating of the same subject, but which are unknown to me, the Daḷadā-sirita and the Daḷadā-puvata.\*

29. I can briefly discuss the contents of the Thūpavamaṣa,† which lies before us in a double form, in Sinhalese and in Pāli, as Wickremasinghe has analysed it. It is near akin to the MBv., and follows the form of the epic tradition quite conventionally.

The Thv. also begins with the history of the earlier Buddhas (chapter I.), it then passes on to that of Gotama Buddha, which is continued on to as far as the distribution of the relics by Doṇa (chapters II.-III.). Then follows the story of the guarding of the relics at Rāmagāma by Ajātasattu (chapter IV.), the reign of Asoka, with the legends of Mahākāla and Nigrodha (chapter V.), the history of the missions, especially that of Mahinda to Ceylon, the collecting of the relics for the tope of the Thūpārāma (chapter VI.), and the arrival of the Bo-tree (chapter VII.), to which the *Yojanathūpakathā* (chapter VIII.) is added. In the description of events the

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\* Cf. Wickremasinghe, Catal. of Sinh. Manusc., p. 115. According to this the Daḷ. Sir. was a poem of the year 1845. De Zoysa thinks otherwise, Catal., p. 16. According to De Zoysa, the Daḷ. Pūj. should belong to the end of the seventeenth century.

† Pāli-Thūpavamaṣaya, by Vāgīśvara, ed. Dhammaratna (Colombo), 1896 (PThv.).—Thūpavamsaya, a History of Dagēbas in Ceylon, by Parākrama Pandit, ed. by W. Dhammaratna (Colombo), 1889 (SThv.). I quote both works according to page and line of the above edition. Wickremasinghe, JRAS., 1898, p. 633, as well as the Catal. of Sinh. Manusc., p. 139; Gv., p. 70.

Thv. reaches beyond the material of the MBv. In the *Mahiyāṅgaṇathūpakathā* (chapter IX.) the history of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is related, as far as the founding of the monarchy. Upon that, the history of the building of the Maricavattivihāra and the Lohapāsāda follow in order, and in chapters XII.–XV. that of the Mahāthūpa. The last chapter (XVI.) is devoted to the death of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

In comparing the PThv. and the SThv., we find that the latter is on the whole broader and contains more detail than the former. Both versions agree in substance from chapters X. to XVI.\* The one seems almost to be merely a translation of the other. The SThv. has longer supplements, especially in the history of the Buddha. A great many subjects, as, e.g., the first care of the new-born child (SThv. 21), the homage of the gods (SThv. 22), the prophecy of Kāladevala (SThv. 24), are in the PThv. entirely omitted. Others, as the history of Sujātā and Pūrṇā and the miracle with the bowl in the Nerañjarā river, are only touched upon in the PThv., while in the SThv. (29, 31) they are described in detail. Also the *sambodhi* itself is given more fully in the SThv. (32, 35). Finally, the history of the ten *pāramitā* (SThv. 36–56) is not found at all in the PThv.

The question now arises whether the PThv. is an extract from the SThv., or whether the latter is an extended paraphrase of the former. The SThv. has merely the epilogue *Sakalavidyācakravartī Parākramapaṇḍitayan viśin karaṇalada Thūpavaṃsakathāva kiyaṃ nimavanaladī*. More detailed statements are found in the PThv.† In the concluding passage the author names himself Vācissara, and describes himself as a relative, or one employed by the Dhammāgāra of King Parākrama. He also mentions a number of other works which he had written in Sinhalese.‡ The introductory words are

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\* Peculiar to the SThv. is, e.g., the enumeration of the jewels and dresses in the story of Sujātā (31, 1 *et seq.*) with which she adorns herself in honour of the Buddha. A similar list of ornaments and musical instruments is found in the SThv. 153, 29 *et seq.* in the description of the royal procession at the festival of the laying the foundation stone of the Mahāthūpa.

† Cf. also Wickremasinghe, Catal. of Sinh. Manuscr., pp. 141–142.

‡ *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṣṣa yena Linatthadīpani |*  
*ṭikā vracitā sādhu saddhammōdayakāminā ||*  
*īathā Pakaraṇasaccasaṅkhepe Atthadīpanā |*  
*dhimatā sukātā yena sutthu Sihalabhāsato ||*  
*Visuddimaggasaṅkhepe yena Atthappakāsanā |*  
*yoginam upakārāya katā Sihalabhāsato. ||*  
*Parakkamanarindassa sabbabhūpālaketuno |*  
*dhammāgāre niyutto yo piṭakattayapārāgo ||*  
*sāsanaṃ sutthitaṃ yassa antevāsikkabhikkhusu |*  
*tena Vācissarattherapādēna likhito ayaṃ. ||*

still more important. From them it appears that Vácissara had at that time two Thupavaṃsa before him. The one was written in Sinhalese, and therefore was only of use to the inhabitants of Ceylon; the other was indeed in Páli, but showed several defects which made a new revision seem necessary.\*

I am now of opinion that this Vácissara is no other than the celebrated thera of the same name, who is spoken of in M. 81, 18 *et seq.* He was one of the heads of the church under Vijayabāhu III. (1236-1240), and he should have still been working under his successor Parákramabāhu II. (1240-1275). The latter is then certainly the King Parákrama in whose *dhammágíra* Vácissara was employed, according to the epilogue of the PThv.†

We have consequently succeeded in obtaining a settled date for the PThv. It was written in the middle of the 13th century A.D. The old work in Páli, which presumably it had before it, is perhaps the Cetiyaṃsaṭṭhakathá which is mentioned in the MT. (*cf.* above, p. 49). But I think it quite inadmissible that our SThv. is the Sinhalese work which the introduction to the PThv. mentions, and consequently, as Dhammaratna assumes, has priority over it. The circumstances are with certainty the same as with the MBv., *i.e.*, the Sinhalese version is a later expansion of the Páli text.

Dhammaratna supposes Parákrama Pandita, the author of the SThv., to have been the nephew of Parákramabāhu, who after his uncle's death (1160 A.D.) came to the throne under the name of Vijayabāhu, and whom the M. (80, 1) praises as a great scholar and poet of high renown. The SThv. would consequently be older than the PThv. by about a hundred years. Wickremasinghe has already raised objections to this identification.‡ It is nowhere proved that Vijayabāhu had been called Parákrama before his ascent to the throne. This statement must be proved in the first place. The language also of the SThv. is nearer that of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries than that of Amāvatura.

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\* *kiñcāpi so yatijanena purātanena  
atthāya Sihalañanassa kato purāpi |  
vākyena Sihalañanassa 'bhisankhāṭṭā  
attham na sūdayati sabbajānassa sammā ||  
yasmā ca Māgadhaniruttikato pi Thūpa-  
vaṃso viruddhanayasaddasamākulo so |  
vattabham eva ca bahum pi yato na vuttam :  
tasmā aham puna pi vaṃsam imaṃ vadāmi. ||*

† Dhammaratna takes this view in the Páli foreword to his edition of the PThv.

‡ Dhammaratna, in the introduction to his edition of the SThv.; Wickremasinghe, Catal. of Sinh. Manuscr. 141.

Thus the priority of the SThv. over the PThv. is by no means proved. Internal evidence, the language, and the analogy of the MBv., speak against it.\* But I believe that this evidence proves that the SThv. was written very soon after the PThv. The Rājaraṭnākara, p. 46, enumerates a list of learned priests and laymen who flourished in the time between Buddhaghosa and the year 1809 after Buddha (1266 A.D.).† Among the learned laymen he names at the last place Parākrama Paṇḍita, i.e., the author of our SThv. It must therefore have been written somewhere between 1250 and 1260.

Concerning the sources of the PThv., we again have to do with the same standard works as in the MBv., viz., the *Jātaka-Nidānakathā*, the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*, and the *Mahāvamsa*; to these may be added the *Mahāvamsa-Tīkā*. Chapters I. and II. are taken from the JNk., as well as a part of chapter III. The borrowing bears the character of an extract with verbal similarity. As the same subject has been taken by the MṬ. from the same source, it is not always easy to decide if single passages are taken from the JNk. or from the MṬ. An example of agreement in the text of these borrowings was mentioned above on p. 28. Numerous verses from the Buddhavamsa are scattered throughout the PThv., but in the SThv. 6, 3 *et seq.* only the verses Bv. 2, 61-66. As in its pattern, the history of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara is treated with detail, while that of the earlier Buddhas is concisely formal.

Chapters V.-VIII. (PThv. 28-44 ; SThv. 88-112) are almost entirely verbal reproductions of Smp. 299-341. with some omissions and small additions. A longer addition is found in PThv. 32-33, where it is told how Asoka acquired the relics which were required for his 84,000 thūpas = SThv. 96-97.

Chapter IX., the *Mahiyāṅganathūpakathā*, is compiled from M. 22, 23, 24, and the beginning of 25. The history of that tope (p. 47) is added from M. 1, 19-42. The closing chapters agree closely with the M.; X. is a paraphrase of M. 25, 7 *et seq.* and 26, XI. of M. 27, XII. of M. 28, XIII. of M. 29, XIV. of

\* As an argument for the priority of the PThv. and the dependence of the SThv. upon it, it appears to me this circumstance should carry weight, viz., that verses which are quoted in the original setting in the former are often paraphrased into Sinhalese in the latter. Thus, PThv. 17 (from M. 1, 32-36) = SThv. 134, 25 *et seq.* ; PThv. 48 (from M. 25, 46-18) = SThv. 136, 10 *et seq.* ; PThv. 24, 1 (from MPS. 6, 59) = SThv. 82, 8 *et seq.*, and others.

† Wickremasinghe has mentioned this passage, to fix the age of Gurulugomi, who appears in the same list. Also a Vāhisvara is mentioned in it, for which, as he thinks, Vāgīsvara naturally can be written. This is no other than Vācissara, the author of the PThv.

M. 30, XV. of M. 31, and XVI. of M. 32. Even the divisions of the chapters are alike. I need not mention other examples showing how closely the paraphrase follows the original. They can be found by quite a cursory comparison of the texts.\*

On the other hand, a few words must be said on the method in which the MṬ. is used. The master who gave King Dutthagāmani the plan for the building of the Mahāthūpa was richly rewarded by him. In the M. 30, 14 it says :—

*sahassaggham vatthayugam tathālaṅkārapādukā |  
kaḥapaṇāni dvīdasasahassāni ca dāpayi ||*

To this the MṬ. 387, 15 remarks : *sahassagghanakam suvan-napādukayugaṇ ca tath' eva punnam nāma vatthālaṅkāraṇ ca dāpayīti attho*. Corresponding to this the PThv. 61, 6 says : *tassa sahasagghanakam sātakayugalam sahasagghanakam yeva punnakam nāma suvaṇṇālaṅkāram.... datvā....* and SThv. 159, 24. *ōhaṭa dahasak milavaṭaṇā pīlī-saṅgalak-da, nevata dahasak agand' pūṇaka nam suvaṇṇābharanayak-da.... dī....* The "golden ornament," *pūṇa*, is here an addition, which passed over into the Thv. from the MṬ., which doubtless it had taken from the Ak.

Extensive additions are found in chapter XIV., where the stories of Bhāṭiyatissa (SThv. 174, 12 *et seq.* ; PThv. 67, 29 *et seq.*) and of Mahāsiva (SThv. 176, 7 *et seq.* ; PThv. 69, 4 *et seq.*) are taken out of MṬ. 401, 11 *et seq.* (cf above, 10, p. 38). The agreement with the MṬ. appears even in wording of the PThv. The first words in the PThv. 67 : *atha imasmim'yeva dīpe Bhāṭiyamahārājā nāma saddho pasanno ahosi, so sāyam pātam Mahācetiyaṃ vanditvā 'va bhuñjati. ekdivasam vinicchaye nisīditvā, &c.*, can be compared with those in the MṬ. : *aparabhāge imasmim dīpe Bhāṭiyamahārājā nāma saddhāsam-panno sāyam pātam dve vāre Mahācetiyaṃ vanditvā 'va bhuñjati, na avanditvā. so ekadivasam vinicchaye nisīditvā, &c.†*

\* It is remarkable that in proper names the SThv. varies much. Thus, e.g., 112, 24 ; 123, 11 ; 124, 13 ; 125, 10. as compared with M. 22, 4 ; 23, 45 ; 23, 55 ; 23, 68 ; and others. The PThv. stands nearer to the M. in all these cases. The PThv. is also of some importance for the text critic of the M. Thus, it gives p. 55, 36 to M. 28, 26 the variants *luñcitvā* for *muñcitvā* of our text, p. 80, 8 in agreement with MṬ. 439, 39 to M. 32, 50, the version *pa'havīcāla* for *opāla*.

† Further examples of additions are given from the MṬ. : PThv. 55, 7, *tiyāmarattim abhīppavaṭṭe deve*, from MṬ. 368, 29 : *tiyāmarattim.... vuttīhe deve* to M. 28-13 ; PThv. 57, 6 = SThv. 152, 15 ; the name *Tintasisakola* from MṬ. 373, 4 to M. 29, 5-6 ; PThv. 59, 18 *et seq.* abbreviated from MṬ. 379, 2 v. u. to 381, 18, and 382, 20-30 to M. 29, 55, and others.



Traces from other sources besides those already mentioned can be observed in the Thv. as in the MBv.\* One such source is, e.g., taken from chapter IV., the Dhātunidhānakathā (PThv. 26-28 ; SThv. 85-88). It is here related that Ajātasattu, on the advice of Mahākassapa at Rāmagāma in the S.E. from Rājagaha, had a treasure of relics entombed. We have seen that it is related later in chapter V. (PThv. 32-33, SThv. 96-97) how Asoka took away the relics from it for the tope which he was building. Finally, in chapter III., for the passages concerning Buddha's last days, the Mahāparinibbānasutta was utilized.† The immediate source from which the SThv. has taken the *pāramitā* legend is unknown to me (pp. 36-48).‡

It is not improbable that the passages from the PThv. whose source is not known, originate from the Ak. Either the author of our PThv. has drawn from it himself, or he took over those passages from his pattern, the Cetiyaṃsaṭṭhakathā, which stood at all events in the closest relation with the Aṭṭhakathā literature. A passage in the MT. (411, 27) is very interesting, where it says that before the arrival of the relics intended for the Mahāthūpa, the God Vissakamma had decorated the Island of Laṅkā *Aṭṭhakathāya vuttanayena* at Indra's command. In the PThv. 71, 7 *et seq.* and SThv. 179, 18 *et seq.* the decoration is in fact described minutely. I certainly should not lay too much weight on this passage. The elements out of which the description is made up are the same as occur always on similar occasions. It is more important that at one place in the PThv. (69, 3) the *Porūṇā* are mentioned. We are certain that this idea approximately signifies the same as the *Aṭṭhakathā*.§

\* That the passage, p. 17, 8-13 and p. 18, 36-19, 1, is taken from *Dāthāvamsa* 2, 29-37 was already mentioned above on p. 80. It is also just possible that both *Dāthāv.* and Thv. have arisen from a common third source.

† Verbal agreement is also found here. The verses PThv. 24, 1 *et seq.* are borrowed from MPS. 6, 59. In the SThv. 82, 8 *et seq.* they are paraphrased. The words *tena hi brāhmaṇa tvaṃ nēva Bhagavato sarirāni aṭṭhadhā samam suvibhattam vibhajāhīti* in the PThv. 24, 27 *et seq.* stand MPS. 6, 60 (JRAS. VIII., 1876, p. 260), &c.

‡ The subject is also broached in the *Pūjāv.*, chapter IV. Cf. Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinh. Manuscripts in the Br. Mus., p. 32. The text is inaccessible to me. But it is possible that the passage on the *Pāramitā* is to be found at the end of the first book of Jayatilaka's edition of the *Pūjāv.*, which was begun in 1887, but apparently discontinued. It would be of interest to know if there exists any connection between the text of the *Pūjāv.* and that of the SThv.

§ It is astonishing that such a modern work as the *Sāsanavamsa* (ed. M. Bode, PTS., 1897) moves so much in the old grooves. It begins again with *Dīpaṅkara* and proceeds then (similarly to the *Nik. S.*, cf.

## IX.—Sinhalese Writings.

30. Among Sinhalese writings the extensive *Pújávāli* first comes into notice, as well as some smaller works of more general contents, such as the *Nikāya-saúgraha* and the *Dhātuvamsa*. Secondly we have chronicles which are concerned with the history of the kings. The concluding chapter of the *Pújávāli* just mentioned serves as their model, containing a list of the Sinhalese princes from Vijaya to *Parākramabāhu Paṇḍita* (second half of the thirteenth century), with a concise description of each reign. *Rājaraṭnākara* and *Rājávāli* are more modern. Naturally these writings are here only considered so far as they treat of the episodes covered by the epic tradition, *i.e.*, as far as Mahāsena (about 300 A.D.).

The *Pújávāli* is unfortunately not yet completely edited. But from Wickremasinghe's\* analysis of its contents we can gather that in spite of many additions and digressions in the arrangement of material it follows entirely the traditional conventions. It begins, after the introductory passage, with a chapter on Buddha's existence as *Sumedha*, and the first *vyākaraṇa*; the other *vyākaraṇa* are shortly dealt with in the second chapter. Then follow, after an appendix, a very detailed history of Gotama Buddha on to the distribution of the relics (chapter XXXII., 2), the Three Councils, the early history of Ceylon under the former Buddhas, the three visits of Gotama, the epoch from Vijaya to *Devānampiyatissa*, the mission of Mahinda, and at last the epitome of the whole history of the Island which I mentioned before. One can see it is the usual material with the usual arrangement. The author of the *Pújávāli*, *Mayúrapāda Thera*, wrote in the second half of the thirteenth century, and was a contemporary of

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below in 30) to the history of the life of Buddha; then follow the First, Second, and Third Councils (pp. 3, 5, 8), the missions (p. 10), the formation of the sects (p. 13), the visit of the Buddha to *Lapkhā* (p. 15), the history of Mahinda (p. 16), the *ācarigaparamparā* (p. 19). Entire passages are taken word for word out of the Smp.; thus, p. 5, 28–6, 11 from Smp. 293, 22–35; p. 17, 13–19, 22 from Smp. 321, 16–34 and 323, 9–324, 12. The Smp. is also quoted, *e.g.*, pp. 19, 23; the Ak. repeatedly, *e.g.*, pp. 7, 19; 9, 25. By the latter, the "old Ak." cannot of course be meant, which certainly was no longer accessible to the author. Perhaps the M. is thereby understood, which was made use of along with the Smp. (*e.g.*, for the story, 6, 13 *et seq.*), *cf.* M. Bode, *Sās.*, *Introd.*, pp. 2, 3.

\* *Catal. of Sinh. Manuscripts*, p. 32 *et seq.* A critical edition done according to European methods, with sensible division of chapters and paragraphs, would be of great use. The first volume of an edition by H. Jayatilaka (chaps. 1–4) appeared in Colombo, 1887. On other extracts of single sections see again Wickremasinghe, *Catal. of Sinhalese Printed Books*, 125–126.

Dhammakitti Thera, by whom the Mahāvamsa was extended. The question as to which source in particular he drew his material from is reserved for later research.

The Nikāya-saṅgraha of Dhammakitti (end of fourteenth century)\* shows in the general arrangement of the material, as also in the details, the dependence on the sources mentioned. It also begins with Dīpaṅkara Sumedha. Then follow the episodes in the usual order: birth in the house of Suddhodana, who is descended from the dynasty of Mahāsammata (*cf.* M. 2); flight from the house—the episode of Sujātā and Sotthiya is here almost a word for word translation of the text of the PThv.†; Buddha's Nirvāṇa; the wickedness of Subhadda (*cf.* Smp. 283, 7; MT. 92, 25); First Council (for the description of the hall built by Ajātasattu, p. 3, 16 *et seq.*, see Smp. 287, 19; MBv. 89, 8 *et seq.*); enumeration of the canonical writings (p. 3), in which also the books of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka are named, although these only came into existence later, and in the CV. are not even known‡; Indian kings to Kālāsoka (p. 4 = list in M. 4, 1 *et seq.*; MBv. 96, 1); Second Council (= CV. XII.; Smp. 293, 22 *et seq.*; MBv. 96, 7 *et seq.*). The Vajji monks deceive Kālāsoka; repentance of the king (p. 5 = M. 4, 31 *et seq.*, part literal translation; *cf.*, *e.g.*, p. 5, 12 *et seq.* with M. 4, 37 *et seq.*). Formation of the sects (p. 6; list = M. 5, 1 *et seq.*; MBv. 96–97). Successors of Kālāsoka (= MBv. 98, 6 *et seq.*; also the names of the Nanda princes are enumerated in agreement with the MBv. *Cf.* with this, above on p. 78). Reign of Dhammāsoka; his building of monasteries (p. 7; *cf.*, *e.g.*, 7, 5 = M. 5, 23; PThv. 28, 23). Mahinda and Saṅghamittā enter the order. Heresy under Asoka (= Smp. 306, 35; MBv. 103, 5; *cf.*, *e.g.*, p. 8, 4, the sending out of two Yakkhas, in order to summon the monks to the Council = M. 5, 267; MBv. 109, 2, but wanting in the Smp.). Third Council; beginning of new sects, list of the

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\* Nikāya Saṅgrahawa, or Sāsanaśatāra, a History of Buddhism in India and Ceylon, by Déwarakshita Dharmakīrti Mahāthera, ed. by Wickremasinghe, Colombo, 1890. For the author and his times see Wickremasinghe, Catal. of Sinh. Manuscr., p. 73. The author of the Nik. S. is not to be confounded with Dhammakitti, the one who enlarged the M.

† *Cf.* Nik. S. 2, 20–23: *ikbīti Sujātā nam siṃ-duva dun mihiri kiribata valaṇḍā sal-venehi divā-vihāra kōla savas-velehi Sotthiya nam bamuṇeku viṣiṇ elavanalāda kusa-taṇa ata mitak geṇa bō-meḍa karā elam̐ba esatu-bō-mulhi kusa-taṇa salā vaguruvā . . . with PThv. 16, 21–25: . . . Sujātāya dinnapāyāsaṃ paribhuñjīvā . . . mahāvanasaṇḍe . . . divābhāgaṃ vitināmetvā sāyaṇhasamaye Sotthiyena dinnam tiṇamūṭhiṃ gaheṭvā . . . bodhimandaṃ āruya tiṇāni santharivā . . .*

‡ Oldenberg, The Vinaya Piṭakam. I., Introd., p. XV, *et seq.*; Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 1–2.

same, and their sacred writings (pp. 8-9; cf. M. 5, 12-13). \* Kings of Ceylon from Vijaya to Devánampiyatissa, and the mission work of Mahinda (pp. 9-10, agreeing with the M.). The kings to Valagamabá (the princes of the Rohaṇa dynasty from Mahánága to Kávantissa = M. 22, 2 *et seq.* are simply inserted in the list between Elála and Duṭṭugemuṇu). Writing down of the canonical scriptures — *úcarīyaparampará* (pp. 10-11 = Smp. 313-314). Building of the Abhayagiri monastery (cf. pp. 11, 14 with M. 33, 84b, and 11, 15 with M. 33, 81b) and the arising of the Dhammaruśi sect there. The kings to Voháratatissa (p. 12, with small differences from the M., cf. 33). Suppression of the Dhammaruśi sect which belongs to the Vetullaváda. Kings to Goṭhābhaya, and the formation of the Ságaliyá sect (M. 5, 13, named only). Suppression of the Vetulla teachings. History of Saṅghamittá, and persecution of the monks of the Mahāvihára under Mahásena (pp. 13-14 = M. 36, 113 *et seq.*; 37, 1 *et seq.*).

We see again that the Samanta-Pásádiká, the Mahāvamsa, the Mahābodhivamsa, the Thúpavamsa. indirectly or directly supply the material which the author of the Nik. S. compiles. He introduces little new material from other sources. The history of the sects is handled with greater detail than in the writings just mentioned. Thus we learn, *e.g.*, that the Ságaliyá sect branched off from the Dhammaruśi of the Abhayagiri Vihára, and took their name from the Thera Ságala, who was the head of the sectarians. It had its centre in the Dakkhiṇa-giri Vihára. This happened under Goṭhābhaya, 795 years after Buddha's Nirváṇa = 252 A.D.† Also the list of the sects formed after the Third Council is somewhat different in the Nik. S. from the M., as we have just seen. The catalogue of the writings of the different sects on p. 9 is entirely new. I am not able to say from what source Dhammakitti took this

\* The first six names agree: Hemavatá, Rájagirivá, Siddhatthiká, Pubbaseliyá, Aparaseliyá, and Vájiriyá. The same list is also found in the Katháv. P.A., p. 5. Then follow in the M. the Dhammaruśi and the Ságaliyá, in the Nik. S. the Vetullá, Andhaká, and Anyamahásanghiká. Of these the Dhammaruśi and the Vetullá, according to Nik. S. 12, 14 *et seq.*, are the most closely connected; the former are a branch of the latter. But the Andhaká, which are mentioned several times in the Katháv. P.A., and the Anyamahásanghiká, are mentioned neither in the M. nor the D. The D. gives in 5, 54 the list of the sects above named, with this single difference, that instead of the Vájiriyá it mentions the Apararájagiriká.

† Pp. 12-13. Cf. Ed. Muller, Páli proper names, JPTS., 1888, and the word Ságaliká. The M. alludes to the event (33, 99): "Thus the Abhayagiri monks separated from the Theraváda, but those of the Dakkhiṇa Vihára separated themselves from the Abhayagiri monks." But the verses 99-101 are not commented on in the T.! For the Dhammaruśi and the Ságaliká see also Sás., V. 24, 15 *et seq.*

contribution to the history of the sects. I should remark that the Katháv. P.A. does not even mention the Sāgaliyá.

I should like to make a comment on one passage of the Nik. S., because in it a little piece out of the old Ak. appears to have been preserved. M. 4, 38 *et seq.* relates that Kálásoka, after he had given ear to the insinuations of the Vajji monks, had had in the night a dreadful dream. "The king was very alarmed; to comfort him the Theri Nanda, the sinless one, came to him through the air: Thou hast committed a wicked deed. Propitiate the pious men, become their disciple, and protect the faith. If thou so doest, it will be good for thee. Thus she spoke, and vanished." The MT. adds the following remark to this (108, 8): *ubhinnaṃ vacanapaṭivacanam pana Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ eva vuttam.* In reality the Nik. S. 5 gives the dialogue in a more detailed form. Possibly the passage is derived directly or indirectly through the medium of an unknown MS. from the Aṭṭhakathá.\*

31. The Dhátuvamsa† belongs to the cycle of sagas from Malaya and Rohaṇa. It contains therefore many popular traditions which are not found in works belonging to the cycle of the Ak. But notwithstanding that, the strong dependence of the Dhv. on the M. is easily recognizable. The Dhv. does not seem to be an independent chronicle. Its contents coincide exactly with the Páli work Naláṭadhátuvamsa,‡ that has only so far existed in MS.; it is thus probably only a Sinhalese translation of the same, like we possess of the MBv. and of the Thv. But as there is no edition of the Nal. Dhv. known to exist, we must for the time depend on the Sinhalese version. The author of the S. Dhv. is Kakusandha; he gives his name in the last strophe. It is not certain when he lived. The name and age of the author of the original work in Páli are as yet unknown.

The Dhv. also begins, according to general custom, with Dīpaṇkara, and then continues with the birth and life of Buddha. The history of the three visits of Buddha to the island of Ceylon then follows. The accounts of the first two visits agree exactly with the M.: p. 2, 34-4, 5 = M. 1, 19-43,

\* Of the verse quotations in the Nik. S., that on p. 4 = M. 5, 282; on page 8 = MBv. 111, 3; on p. 12 = M. 36, 41; on p. 14 = M. 38, 75. With the last two the M. is named as source.

† Dhatuwansaya of the Thera Kakusandha, published by Gintōa Dhammakkhanda, Dodanduwa, 2433 A.B. = 1890 A.D. (Sinhalese title).—De Zoysa, Catal., p. 17.

‡ Cf. De Zoysa, Catal., p. 19. The S. Dhv. has exactly the same five chapters, which are here mentioned from the Nal. Dhv.: 1. *Budunge-tuntarāgamana*, pp. 1-9; 2. *Budun-ge parinīrvāṇapīṭā*, pp. 9-12; 3. *Dhātuparamparākathā*, pp. 12-19; 4. *Pakiṇṇaka*, pp. 19-29; 5. *Dhātunīdhāna-kathā*, pp. 29-47. In the Gv. 62, l. 7, the Nal. Dhv. is mentioned, but no author is given.

and p. 4, 9-4, 32 = M. 1, 44-70 (somewhat shortened in the Dhv.). The third visit, p. 4, 37-8 end, is on the contrary treated much more fully than in M. 1, 71-83. The resolution conceived by Buddha and the preparation which he engaged in are exhaustively described. The story itself gives a quantity of new details and names. We can conclude from it that popular tradition concerning the visits of Buddha was not exhausted by the M. and its contents. Still the Ak. could scarcely have been fuller; for the M.T., which comments very thoroughly on the introductory chapter of the M., would otherwise doubtless have given additions from it. The author of the Dhv. has therefore drawn from local traditions or from one of the sources independent of the M. containing them.

Thus, e.g., the Dhv., pp. 6-7, names the spirits whom Buddha charged with the care of the various sacred places dedicated by him; as guardian spirit of the places of the Díghavápi (M. 1, 78; D. 2, 60) he appointed the *divyaputra* Mahásena; as guardian spirit of those of the Maháthúpa (M. 1, 79) the *devarāja* Visála; as guardian spirit of those of the Thúpárama (M. 1, 82) the *divyarāja* Prthivípála. In the same way Buddha dedicated the places of the Maricavaṭṭi Vihára, of the tope at Kataragáma, of the Tissa Mahávihára, and of the Nága Mahávihára, and appointed as guardians the spirits Indaka, Mahághosa, Samaṇihára, and Mahinda. It is conceivable that Buddha also prophesied the erection of the "fair white dágoba, southwards from the Mahaveligaṅga, lying not far from the Séru tank, in form like a bubble, comparable to the Kailása mountain." For that is the tope in which afterwards the frontal bone relic (*naláta-dhátu*) was placed, of which the Dhv. treats.

In the episode of the Nága King Sumana, the Dhv. differs also from the M. Sumana (pp. 5-6) is summoned by Buddha to accompany him. This he does with his followers, and holds the tree, in which he dwells, as a covering over Buddha's head. This is clearly the Samiddhisumana of M. 1, 52 *et seq.*, but here he is Buddha's companion on his second journey. The D. agrees with the M. (2, 16 *et seq.*), which calls the Deva simply Samiddhi. According to Dhv. 7-8, Sumana is ordained the guardian spirit of the future Naláta Dágoba. This occurred at the foundation, because under earlier Buddhas in past births he had been the keeper of the relics which had been left by them in Ceylon.\* Later Suman's mother, who had remained in Jetavana, followed her son to Ceylon.

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\* Here also the Dhv. differs from the M. According to the latter (1, 54 *et seq.*) Samiddhisumana was in an earlier birth a man in Nágadípa, and was re-born as Deva of a Rájáyatana tree in Jetavana, as reward for the services which he had rendered to a Pacceka Buddha.

The second chapter of the Dhv. describes in the usual way the death of the Buddha and the distribution of the relics. But chapter III. introduces new material, viz., the history of the *nalāṭa-dhātu* (pp. 12-17). The relic belonged originally to the share which the Malla received. By Mahākassapa's order Ananda brings it to Mahāvana. After changing its place of abode many times Mahādeva carried it to Ceylon. This was at the time when Mahānāga reigned in Mahāgāma (cf. M. 22). A wealthy man named Mahākāla was the first to do honour to the relic. The king heard of it, and had it brought with great pomp into the town. After his father's death Yaṭṭhālayatissa took charge of the relic (pp. 17-18). Goṭṭhābhaya succeeded, who on dying entrusted it to Kākavaṇṇatissa (pp. 18-19). It is very remarkable that the M. tells us nothing about the veneration of the frontal bone relic by the Rohaṇa princes.

Chapter IV. is derived from popular sources and local traditions. A story from an earlier existence of Kākavaṇṇatissa is first related in the manner of a Jātaka (pp. 19-23). Then the virtues and merits of the king are described (23-25). There then follows a passage over Giriabhaya, the nephew of Siva of Kalyāṇi and brother-in-law to Kākavaṇṇatissa, who erected a tope in his capital for the right eye tooth of Buddha, which had been in the charge of the Thera Mahinda. Likewise Kākavaṇṇatissa is appointed by the Thera Cullapiṇḍapātika to build a tope for the *nalāṭa-dhātu* (pp. 27-29). All these are traditions which appear to be unknown to the M.

The history of the building of that tope, of its dedication, and of the entombment of the relics is contained in the last chapter of the Dhv. The strong literary influence which the M. has exercised is here shown. The description of the building and dedication of the Mahāthúpa is used as the model for the whole description in the Dhv. (M. 28 *et seq.*). The account is simply transferred to the tope of Kākavaṇṇatissa. I will only mention the making of the bricks by Vissakamma (p. 31 = M. 28, 8 ; PThv. 54, 30), the restoration of the relic cell with *Mevan* stone, pp. 32 to 33 = M. 30, 59 and 96 ; Thv. 64, 19 and 67, 16) and especially its decoration, which is similar even in details to the *dhātugabbha* in the Mahāthúpa (pp. 33-34 = M. 30, 60 *et seq.* ; Thv. 64, 20 *et seq.*). The dedication of the monastery and the fixing of its boundaries (pp. 46-47) have also their prototypes in the M., where the boundaries of the Tissárāma are ceremoniously fixed in just such a similar way by Devānampiyatissa (M. 15, 188 *et seq.*). It is distinctly seen that for these descriptions of details, where local traditions cannot be utilized, the author of the Dhv. has been forced to depend on works written for other purposes.

32. Of the chronicles which are mentioned in the beginning of 30 I will refer first of all to the younger, the *Rájávali*. It appears to have been written in the beginning of the 18th century, for its account ends with Vimala Dhamma Suriya (1679-1701).<sup>\*</sup> I incline to the opinion that the *Rájáv.* has not had many authors, but one only.<sup>†</sup> Certain differences in style seem to prove that the author has taken many passages word for word from older sources. The introduction and the legendary history of the *Rájáv.* are original. It begins with a cosmological survey, which then on p. 2 leads to a kind of geographical description of India, which consists of an enumeration of provinces and towns. Then follows, corresponding to chapter II. of the M. and III. of the D., the list of dynasties from the mythical king Mahásammata to Siddhattha, the Buddha. But the account of the *Rájáv.* is not only distinct from the two older epics in many details, but contains also new material in legends and myths that must originate from other sources still unknown to us. It is this material which gives an independent value to the passages treating of ancient Sinhalese history before Mahásena; the later sections are not here taken into account.

Thus, *e.g.*, p. 4, the reign of Mahásammata is described as a kind of golden age. Of the King Cetiya it is related (p. 5) that he first introduced falsehood into the world, and as punishment for which the earth had devoured him. Under Mahápratápa (pp. 6-7) murder and other crimes entered in, and since then the length of the life of princes was shorter. On p. 8 follows the history of the founding of the Sakya dynasty. It follows closely the account in M<sup>†</sup>. 84, 4 *et seq.*, and is probably borrowed from this. It has already been shortly mentioned on p. 38, and contains the following: Ariṭṭa, also called "the third Okkáka," had by his first wife four sons and five daughters; by his second, a son named Jantu. In his joy over the boy he granted the mother a wish. She desired that her son should succeed to the throne.<sup>‡</sup> Only with reluctance did Ariṭṭa redeem the promise given. The four elder sons retired into the jungle, accompanied by their sisters, and founded there a city according to the command of the sage Kapila, which they named Kapilavatthu. They each married

<sup>\*</sup> *Rájávaliya*, or a Historical Narrative of Sinhalese Kings, . . . ed. by B. Guñasekara, Colombo, 1899: *Rájávaliya*, &c., ed. (in English) by B. Guñasekara, Colombo, 1900.

<sup>†</sup> Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 539, has referred to the *Rájáv.* Cf. further Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, I., p. xvi., and again Wickremasinghe, *Catal. of Sinh. Manuscr.*, pp. 75-77.

<sup>‡</sup> The motif is reminiscent of the well known story in the *Rámáyana*, where Kaikeyí wishes in the same way to secure for her son, Bharata, the succession to the throne before Ráma.



their four younger sisters, putting the eldest in the place of their mother, and became the fathers of the Sakya race.

The following episode (p. 10 *et seq.*) is new to me. The eldest sister was attacked by leprosy. Her brothers took her away into the forest, there dug a deep grave, let her down into it with all the means of life, and then covered the grave over with branches of trees. In the meantime, the king of Benares, Ráma, was also attacked by leprosy and sought refuge in the same wood. Healing herbs had cured him of his disease. He found the princess, healed her with the plants which were known by him, and made her his wife. She bore him 32 sons.\* Ráma's son heard of the resort of his father in the jungle, and built on the place where he had lived, the city of Koliya. The 32 sons of Ráma married the 32 daughters of the four kings of Kapilavatthu. Since then the princes of Koliya and of Kapilavatthu became one clan.

The story, now following, of Vijaya's early days (p. 12, 29 *et seq.*) corresponds exactly to the passage in M. 6, 1 *et seq.* It is self-evident that the M. always remained the chief source for the later Sinhalese literature. Still there are to be found, here and there, if we look, traditions which are wanting in the M., or with which the M. does not harmonize. The story of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon (14, 9-19 and 15-25 *et seq.*) agrees with M. 7, 10 *et seq.* Then in the Kuveni legend we find some fresh true popular traits,† and the names of the two Yakkha towns in Ceylon, Laggala and Loggala, do not occur in the M.‡ The legend of the three visits of Buddha to Ceylon and of his prophecy of the Island as the future home of his teaching, is inserted in the story of Vijaya (= M. 7, 1-9).

The Rájara tñákara§ which was written in all probability under Vira Vikrama about the middle of the sixteenth century, also gives the history of Vijaya with much detail. It begins immediately with the story of a Vaṇiga princess, who was the mother of Sīhabáhu, Vijaya's father, by a lion; it follows in general the same scheme as the Rájáv. After the story of Vijaya's arrival in Laṅká, the legend of the earlier Buddhas and their connection with the Island, as well as the

\* "She bore him twins 16 males, 32 boys (in all)." Sīhasīvalī, the mother of Vijaya, bore in like manner to her husband and brother, Sīhabáhu, exactly the same number of sons. M. 6, 37; Rájáv. 14, 2.

† The story of the three breasts of Kuveni and of her transformation into a mare in the fight with the Yakkhas. Cf. above, p. 23, note †.

‡ It calls the one town Srīvatthu (7, 32); the other is named in MT. 179, 34, Laṅkápura. But the name Srīvatpura is mentioned in Rájáv. 16, 26.

§ Rájaratnākaraya, or History of Ceylon, by Walgampaya Terunānse, ed. by Saddhananda, Colombo, 1887. Cf. Wickremasinghe, Catal. of Sinh. Manuscr., p. 73.

visits of Gotama Buddha, are inserted (p. 3 *et seq.*). On p. 5 the thread of the story is again taken up. It seems to me that this arrangement of material influenced the author of the *Rájáv.*, or that both the *Rájaratn.* and the *Rájáv.* found it in earlier sources. The *Rájaratn.* does not give any new facts in connection with the Vijaya saga. What it gives is extracts from the D. and M., from which it also quotes a long list of verses.\*

The *Pújáv.* in chapter XXXIII., *Mahinda-pratipatti-pújákathá*,† deals with the history of Vijaya quite shortly. It simply says, "Once upon a time a daughter of the Kálínga king who had married the king of Vaúga land, had a daughter. She retired alone into the jungle, in consequence of a misdeed; on the way she met a lion, had intercourse with him, and bare a son and a daughter whom she named *Simhabáhu* and *Simhasívalí*. In course of time *Simhabáhu* made his sister *Simhasívalí* his wife, and lived as king in the land of *Lála*. The two sons of Vijaya landed on the island of *Tammenná* at the time of our Buddha's *Nirváṇa*, under the protection of the prince of the gods, *Sakka*, in company with 700 followers. With the help of a witch, named *Kuveni*, he killed and expelled the other *Yakkhas* who in some places had stayed behind, built in *Tammenná* a city, and reigned there 38 years."

We can now follow continuously the other account of our sources, comparing them among themselves and with the account in the M.

33. Generally speaking it may be said that of the three chronicles the *Rájaratn.* stands closest to the M., and draws most extensively from it. The *Pújáv.* and the *Rájáv.* stand in nearer relation to each other, for we find between them many important agreements. As may be expected, the *Rájaratn.* has also had the *Pújáv.* before it, and has occasionally copied it, and likewise the *Nik. S.* The *Rájáv.* shows some originality. It introduces details in the different accounts which certainly bear popular traits, as we have already seen in the *Kuveni* legend.

\* They are, v. II. = D. 9, 2; III. = D. 9, 4; IV. = D. 9, 6; V.-VI. = D. 9, 21-22; VII.-IX. = D. 9, 23-25; X. = D. 9, 28; XI. = D. 9, 30; XIII. = M. 7, 74; XIV. = M. 7, 42; XV. = D. 9, 20; XVI. = M. 1, 19; XVII. = M. 1, 26; XVIII. = M. 1, 27; XIX. = M. 1, 84; XX. = M. 7, 4; XXI. = D. 11, 9. The quotations v. XI., XV., XXI. do not correspond exactly. It has already been mentioned on p. 81 that the *Rájaratn.* has taken over its whole introduction from the *Dal. Púj.*

† A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the *Pújáv.* (by B. Guṇasékara), Colombo, 1893. A Contribution.... translated by B. Guṇasékara, Colombo, 1895. Text and translation include *Pújáv.* chap. XXXIII., 3 and 4, and chap. XXXIV.

Verbal agreement between the Pújáv. and the Rájaratn. is found, *e.g.*, in the history of Vaḷagamabá and the seven Damiḷa princes who for a short time usurped the throne from him.\* Further, in the history of the reign of Coranága,† where the Rájaratn. interweaves a quotation in its usual way. Also in the story of the festivities arranged by Mahadeḷiyá, the Rájaratn. agrees verbally with the Pújáv.; the Rájáv. depends here in the minutest way, in parts even in wording, on the Pújáv.‡ Lastly, verbal agreement is found between the Pújáv. and Rájaratn. in the story of Aḍagemunu,§ as well as in that of Gajabáhu, to which I shall later refer.

The Rájaratn. has probably taken the *ácariyaparampará* from the Nik. S. 10–11, which it inserts (15, 28–34) before it gives the account of the written record of the Páli canon under Vaḷagamabá. But it must be emphasized that the list of names in the Rájaratn. differs repeatedly from those contained in the Nik. S., as well as from those in the Smp. The account of the Three Councils, which Rájaratn. 6–10 inserts in the history of Devenipétissa, in order to lead on to Mahinda and his mission, is certainly derived from the Nik. S. The whole is only an abstract put together like a mosaic, from single passages of the original, out of Nik. S. 3–10.

I mention finally a number of isolated references which the Rájaratn. alone gives and which it has taken direct from the M., while in the Pújáv. and Rájáv. they are wanting. A description of the treasures in the relic cell of the Great Tope for example is given in the reign of Bhátiya (17–18), which is added to M. 30, 62 *et seq.* The description of the different festivities (18–19) which Bhátiya arranged in honour of the tope, is derived from M. 34, 40 *et seq.* The merits of the King Vahap are set forth exhaustively in 22, 16 *et seq.*, according to M. 35, 71 *et seq.* Also the description of the works of Vyavaharatissa (24–25) is taken from M. 36, 30 *et seq.*, and many other such details.

Examples of verbal agreement between the Pújáv. and the Rájáv. are numerous enough to prove that the author of the

\* Pújáv. 18, 2–19, 7 = Rájaratn. 15, 18–25. Cf. M. 33, 34 *et seq.* The Pújáv. calls the queen whom the Damiḷa carried off, Somi, the Rájaratn. names her Sobhita, in the M. 33, 55 she is called Somadeví. The names, generally speaking, are extraordinarily uncertain.

† Pújáv. 19, 11–16 = Rájaratn. 16, 26–17, 7. Cf. M. 34, 11. The Rájaratn. 17, 12–13 has also taken from the Pújáv. 19, 23 and 24, the names of the lovers of Anulá, Vāsukhiya and Belatissa.

‡ Pújáv. 20, 10–16 from *siyak yodun* = Rájaratn. 19, 25–31 (see Rájáv. 37, 34–38, 4). Pújáv. 20, 1–10 verbally = Rájáv. 37, 28–34. Cf. M. 34, 68 *et seq.* (Mahádāthika).

§ Pújáv. 20, 19–22 Rájaratn. 20, 7–9. Cf. M. 35, 1 *et seq.* (Amaṇḍagāmani).

latter made use of the former and has copied it. Thus the story of Paṇḍukābhaya, that of King Asel, of Makalantis, of Veḥep, and of Deṭu Tissa agree in both sources.\* In another account there is no agreement in actual wording, but the similarity of idea is so great that here also a direct borrowing seems to be certain. This is the case, *e.g.*, with the arrival of Elāla, where the Rājāv. introduces only a few supplementary notes about the landing place, and the size of the army led by Elāla, about Bhātiya's visit to the relic cell in the Ruvanveli Dāgoba, and about the overpowering of the demon "red eye" by Siri-saṅga-bo.† The Pújāv. and the Rājāv. are also the only sources which relate of the famine named the *beminiṭi-sāya*.‡ Neither the M. nor the Rājaratn. mention it. The Pújāv. and Rājāv. differ however so far from each other that the former places it in the reign of Vaḷagamabā, the latter in that of Coranāga.

But the passage on Mahasen, the last king of the "Great dynasty," is especially important. The Rājāv. repeats here only the account in the Pújāv.§ But the latter passes over in silence the evil deeds of Mahasen, the persecution of the monks of the Mahāvihāra or the destruction of the Lohapāsāda, and relates only his meritorious deeds. The M. finishes with the words, "Thus this prince heaped up good deeds and evil deeds in great numbers." The Pújāv. ends, "He reigned 27 years and *entered into the world of gods*." One might almost believe that this is no mere coincidence, but that it is more likely that the Pújāv., as well as the Rājāv., expressed a tradition which did not go back to the Mahāvihāra. It should perhaps also be said that the Pújāv. and Rājāv. do not mention the suppression of the Vaitulya sect under

\* Pújāv. 2, 7-12 = Rājāv. 18, 2-19, 2; Pújāv. 16, 6-8 = Rājāv. 20, 32-34 (*cf.* M. 21, 11); Pújāv. 19, 26-28 = Rājāv. 37, 18-20 (*cf.* M. 34, 28; Kūlakamī Tissa); Pújāv. 20, 32-21, 4 = Rājāv. 38, 12-19 (*cf.* M. 35, 69 *et seq.*, Vasabha). Still the two sources differ again in the names of the tanks made by the king: Pújāv. 22, 31-23, 6 = Rājāv. 41, 25-31 (*cf.* M. 36, 118 *et seq.*), but the Rājāv. leaves out the names of the tanks, and differs also from the Pújāv. with regard to the names of the monasteries.

† Pújāv. 16, 8-12 = Rājāv. 21, 1-10; Pújāv. 19, 28 *et seq.* = Rājāv. 37, 21 *et seq.* (*cf.* M. 34, 49 *et seq.*), Pújāv. 21, 3 *et seq.* = Rājāv. 40, 10 *et seq.* Also in the story of the end of Siri-saṅga-bo we meet verbal agreement at the beginning (Pújāv. 22, 9 *et seq.* = Rājāv. 40, 22 *et seq.*) and at the end (P. 22, 28-31 = R. 41, 21-24).

‡ Pújāv. 19, 8; Rājāv. 36, 22 *et seq.* According to the R. the famine happened in the beginning of the Saka aera = 78 A.D. *Cf.* further on.

§ Pújāv. 23, 6-29 = Rājāv. 41, last line, to 42, 23. The P. puts the end of Mahāsēna and therefore the Mahāvamsa at 846 years 9 months 25 days A.B., the R. 844 years 9 months 25 days A.B. = 304, or perhaps 302 A.D.

Vyavaharatissa and Goṭṭhābhaya. The Rājāratn. 27, 3 *et seq.* follows in its account of Mahasen that of the M., and speaks also in 24, 26 *et seq.* and 27, 5 *et seq.* of the opposition of the Vaitulya sect.

The Rājāv. introduces new details into the story of Kāvāntissa, the father of Duṭṭhagāmani. On the whole it runs side by side with M. 22, 13 *et seq.*, although the story here is rather concise and in some points less clear than in the Rājāv. The Rājāv. gives the account thus “ Kēḷaṇitissa\* had a younger brother, who held forbidden intercourse with the queen. This came to the king’s ears. The latter ordered a Roḍiyā to come to him privately, and said to him ‘ I shall summon my royal retainers and my younger brother ; if I then ask thee, Is there any one who is of lower caste than thou ? thou shalt answer, The younger brother who lives in the same house (with the elder brother) is of lower caste than I.’ When the Roḍiyā was asked in the midst of the royal company, he answered just as he had been instructed. The prince feeling the disgrace of these words left Kēḷaṇi and went to dwell in Udugampola.

“ Āt that time there lived at Kēḷaṇi a presbyter with 500 monks as followers, who offered flowers at the Kēḷaṇi temple and recited constantly the holy texts, and who received alms on that account from the king. Kāvāntissa, the king’s brother, had become a pupil of the presbyter and wrote similarly to his teacher.† Whilst he was staying once at Udugampola, he ordered a man to assume the yellow robe, wrote a letter to the queen, in which he poured out his grievous troubles to her, delivered it to the man dressed as a priest, and sent him away with the injunction, ‘ When the priest with his 500 followers resorts to the king’s palace in order to receive alms, join thyself to them, take a back place, and let them also give alms to thee. When the presbyter goes away after receiving alms the queen will accompany him and walk seven steps from the door of the king’s palace. At that time let this letter fall close by the queen.’ The man went, as though he wished to participate in the almsgiving, and secretly let the letter fall close by the queen. But the king

\* Rājāv. 21, 14 *et seq.* Kēḷaṇitissa belonged, like Kāvāntissa, to the Rohaṇa dynasty which Mahānāga, the younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, had founded. One branch of the family resided in Kēḷaṇi, the other in Mahāgāma (Rājāv. 20, 24 ; 21, 12). Kēḷaṇitissa was in all probability a brother or cousin of Goṭṭhābhaya, the father of Kākavāṇṇatissa. Cf. Pūjāv. 16, 16 and 17.

† This story is certainly not concerned only with the disguise of handwriting, as B. Guṇasekara understands in his translation. Thus the Sinhalese should not be so understood : *raju-gé mal méterunvahané-gen akuru igea-geṇa é terun-vahané-gé akuru héṭiya-ṭa liyannéya.*

heard the rustle of the falling letter, turned round, and saw that the queen picked it up. He came back, took it out of her hand, and thought, 'The writing is no other (than the priest's), the villain writes letters to my queen.' He ordered the presbyter to be seized, thrown into a pot of oil, and boiled. He had the man bound who had brought the letter, and then thrown into the river. Also the queen was bound and drowned.

"The King Kēṣaṇitissa, who had acted thus foolishly because he had not recognized his brother's handwriting, and because he did not know that the prince wrote like his teacher, left, in his delusion, the presbyter to boil for seven days in the pot of oil into which he had thrown him, but the oil was as cold water. By virtue of his spiritual sight the presbyter saw that he had to atone for a sin he had committed in a previous existence, for, when a shepherd, he had killed a gnat in cooking some milk. He spoke smiling, this is the result of earlier committed sins; he therefore called together the people and expounded to them how that his present body was only a stain on the Buddhahood, after which he was consumed to ashes.

"It should be known that before this time the sea was distant from Kēṣaṇi seven *gav* (about 25 miles). But on account of the gods becoming angry, who had charge of Laṅkā, the ocean began to rise. In the Dvāpara Age the fortress, 25 palaces, and 400,000 rows of houses belonging to Rāvaṇa, were sunk in the sea in consequence of his wickedness. Now, on account of the wickedness of Kēṣaṇitissa, eleven-twelfths of Laṅkā was swallowed up by the ocean, including 100,000 ports, 970 fishing villages, and 470 pearl fishing villages.\* Maṇḍārama was preserved, and of the ports Kaṭupiṭṭimādapampé remained standing.

"When the King Kēṣaṇitissa heard of the rising of the ocean he ordered his youngest daughter to wash her hair, take a bath, to dress herself in a silken cloth which had never before been used, and to put on her jewels; he then had a boat brought, commanded the princess to take her place inside, covered it up, and fastened above it an inscription; then he sent the boat out to sea.† The king himself mounted his elephant in order to watch the rise of the waters. But the angry flood overcame the elephant and the king, and brought him, as if enveloped by the fiery glow of the Avīci hell, to a place where the water

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\* We have here a local story of the flood, which belongs evidently to the popular traditions of Rohaṇa.

† Interesting reminiscence of human sacrifice. Cf. for the subject Frazer, *The Golden Bough*. II., 38 *et seq.*

disappeared into a brazen funnel, surrounded by flames;\* it plunged the king into this hole, and here he had to suffer pains.

"But because the princess who had been offered to the ocean had done many meritorious deeds, and in a later life was to become the mother of the Buddha Maitreya, the cloud spirits and the sea gods led the boat by the wind southwards and drove it to Mágama in the land of Ruhuna. Fishermen who supplied the King Kávantissa with fish came by, saw the boat on the sea and the inscription fixed thereon, and told the king of it. When the King Kávantissa heard of the matter he came and ordered the boat which was tossing on the sea to be brought to land. He saw the inscription fixed above, and read the words, 'The daughter of King Kēṣanītissa, given as an offering to the sea.' When he had opened the boat, he sat the princess down on a heap of precious stones, poured water on her hands, and made her his queen. He built a monastery on that place, gave her the name of Vihāra-mahādevī, and led her in festive procession to the town Mágam."† Eventually Vihāradevī became the mother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

The history of the *Beminiṭi* famine under Coranāga in the Rājāv. is also an addition to the material of the epic, and contains popular features. Milindu,‡ the king of Sāgal in Jambudvīpa, conceived a sinful love for a Brahman woman, and did away with her husband by treacherously thought-out accusations. But the woman continued in her duty. She cursed the king with the words, "As true as I have kept my honour shall the land of the king perish." Thereupon she rubbed charcoal (*aṇḍun aṇḍuru*) on the soles of her feet, flung three handfuls of water into the air, clapped her hands three times, went into her house, shut the door, and died. The curse was fulfilled, no rain came, and for twelve years was there famine

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\* The text reads : *mūda alakiri é etu há raju galvá e raju Avicinara-kayehi ginidēlin veḷuvāk-men ginidēlin velā-vasāgeṇa lū-kabalaka diya nasana teṇa-ṭa geṇa-gos van saṇḍa*.... My translation is conjectural; but B. Guṇasēkara's also does not satisfy.

† In comparison with the M. the following points are new: (1) the incident with the Roḍiyā. By introducing the man there is brought out at the same time a veiled threat against the adulterous queen. Cf. my Ceylon, p. 118; (2) the motif of the similar handwriting, by which is explained how the suspicion could fall on the presbyter; (3) the details of the great flood and the sacrifice of the king's daughter.

‡ Rājāv. 36, 23 *et seq.* According to the account of the R. the famine, as already said, happened in the beginning of the Sakya era (78 A.D.) in the reign of Coranāga. The same source reckons the death of this prince at 623 A.B. = 80 A.D. According to the chronology of the M., Coranāga reigned 62–50 B.C. The Pūjāv. 19, 8 supposes the *beminiṭi-sāya* to be under Valagamabā, who, according to the M., reigned from 104 to 76 B.C.

in Jambudvīpa. Ceylon also suffered three years in drought and bad harvests.

Finally, the story of the death of Siri Saṅghabodhi in the Rājāv. contains some points which are absent in the account in the M.\* After the king had been driven out of the field by his rival, Goṭhābhaya, he retired into the jungle clothed as a monk, to the place where later the Attanagalu Vihāra was built. A poor man met him here and began to hold a conversation with him, not knowing who he was. He told him of the price that Goṭhābhaya had set on the head of Saṅghabodhi. Afterwards he shared with him his food, consisting of rice and small fishes. The king pondered, if I am one day to become a Buddha then shall these small fish swim now in water. He called the gods to witness, and threw the fish into the tank, close by where he sat. And behold they swam gaily about in the water. He then scattered some rice about, and it began immediately to spout. Then Saṅghabodhi told his name, and gave his head to the man as a thank offering for the meal he had had. But if the genuineness of his head was ever doubted then the man was to sprinkle it with sandalwood water and milk, anoint it, and place it on a seat; then it would give a sign. He himself smote off his head from his body. The man brought it to King Goṭhābhaya, and as he doubted that it really was the head of his rival, the former proceeded as Saṅghabodhi had instructed him. The head then rose three times into the air by the power of the gods and spoke these words: "I am King Siri Saṅghabodhi."†

We thus see how from the Sinhalese sources, especially the Rājāv., many details are added to the material of the M., the origin of which have been till now unknown. It should also be mentioned that the Rājāv. 19, 8 (also MBv. 112, 19) names a king Gaṇatissa after the King Paṇḍukābhaya, who is not found in the list of either the D. or M. It gives him a reign of 40 years, without other mention of him, and to Paṇḍukābhaya a reign of 30 years. According to M. 10, 106 and also Pújāv. 2, 17 Paṇḍukābhaya reigned 70 years; therefore it seems as if in the Rājāv. this period of the time is divided between the two princes. Otherwise Rājaratn. 6, 5 also names Gaṇatissa, but places him before Paṇḍukābhaya, not after.

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\* Rājāv. 40, 22 *et seq.* Cf. M. 36, 92 *et seq.*

† The reference to the future Buddhahood of Saṅghabodhi is new, compared with the account in the M. The subject is also not found in this form in the Hatthav., where the story of the self-sacrifice of the king is related in chap. VIII. Still, an indication of it is seen, when in VIII. 5 the king lets himself be comforted in giving away his head by the thought that he is carrying out the *dānapāramitā* by such *ajjhāttikadāna*. The motif of the separated head acknowledging itself as Saṅghabodhi is also new. Cf. Hatthav. VIII., 11-12.



We have seen, therefore, that the Sinhalese chronicles here and there differ from the M. in details. But it is remarkable to note what they relate in agreement over the reign of Gajabáhu. The account is here taken from a source otherwise quite unknown to us.\* The M. only says of this prince, that he built or enlarged monasteries, erected thúpas, and made the Gámanitissa tank. Our Sinhalese chronicles differ entirely, and the Rájáv. most of all. Tamils had already invaded the land from the Soli kingdom in the time of Gajabáhu's predecessors, and had carried off 12,000 prisoners. As Gajabáhu was one night wandering round the city he heard a woman lamenting. He marked the house; the next day the woman was brought before him, and he heard that she was sorrowing for her two sons, who had been carried away captive among the 12,000 prisoners to the Soli kingdom. The king set out immediately on an expedition against the Tamils. He took with him the giant Nila, struck the sea with an iron club so that it divided and he could cross it with his army, and advanced on the capital of the Soli kingdom. The Tamil king refused at first to free the prisoners. But Gajabáhu grasped a handful of sand and pressed water out of it, then he took his club and squeezed water out of that. This proof of strength put the Tamil prince in such fear that he delivered up not only the Sinhalese prisoners but also an equal number of Tamils. Gajabáhu gave the former back to their families and the latter he settled in various parts of the Island. The alms bowl of Buddha which had been carried off by the Tamils under Vaḷagamabá, and other costly and sacred treasures, were also brought back to Ceylon by Gajabáhu.

#### Conclusions.

34. The writings with which we have mostly been concerned, besides the Dípavaṃsa and the Mahávaṃsa, with their Tíká, are, in chronological order, the following :—

1. Samanta-Pásádiká (first third of the fifth century).
2. Mahábodhivaṃsa (last quarter of the tenth century).
3. Dáthávaṃsa (shortly after 1211), together with Daḷadá Pújávali (about 1300).
4. Páli Thúpavaṃsa (about 1250) and Sgh. Thúpa-vaṃsa (shortly before 1260).
5. Dhátuvaṃsa (period unknown).
6. Pújávali (second half of the thirteenth century).

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\* Cf. M. 35, 115 *et seq.* (D. 22, 13-14; 28) with Pújáv. 21, 5 *et seq.* Rájaratn. 23, 9 *et seq.*; Rájáv. 38, 23 *et seq.* See also Raṇasīpha, Which Gaja Báhu visited India? JRAS. C.B., No. 45, 1894, p. 144 *et seq.*

7. Nikáyaśaṅgraha (end of the fourteenth century).
8. Rájaratnákara (middle of the sixteenth century).
9. Rájávali (beginning of the eighteenth century).

The old Aṭṭhakathá forms the last original work to which we have to go back. On it the Samanta-Pásádiká and the Játaka-Nidánakathá depend, as well as the Dípavaṃsa and the Mahávaṃsa. These four works have become the principal authorities for the framework and contents of later tradition. All the later writings are dependent on them, and they have also borrowed from one another extensively.

The Maháboḍhi vaṃsa depends for the most part on the JNk., the Smp., and the M. Already in the first chapter of the MBv. we find worked out, apparently through the influence of the JNk., a special form of introduction, which then occurs in the same manner as introduction in all the later works. The form is this, that at first the history of Dípaṅkara and Sumedha is given in full detail. The following Buddhas are treated more summarily. Then comes the life of Gotama Buddha; its history leads to the special subjects which the author wishes to treat of in his work. This is the constant pattern for the introduction in the later works, as Dáthávaṃsa, &c. The second chapter of the MBv. depends also on the JNk. Passages in connection with the Three Councils and Mahinda are taken from the Smp., sometimes verbally. The dependence on the M., especially concerning the arrangement of material and the embellishment by verse quotations, is at the same time unmistakable here. The idea is also not altogether excluded that the author of the MBv. consulted the old Ak. occasionally.

Speaking of the Dáthavaṃsa, it may be accepted that the introduction of the MBv. served as model for its introductory chapter. It took the material for the history of the visit of Buddha in chapter II. from the M. For later sections it drew from local traditions. Material was also taken from the Maháparinibbánasutta.

As an example of a work characteristic of the compilatory method of working of that time the Thúpavaṃsa may serve. The JNk. is here also used as the basis for the introduction, the Smp. for the history of Asoka and the missions sent out under him, especially that of Mahinda, and the M. for the rest. Unquestionably the MT. was also made use of occasionally, also the M.P.S. and the Dátháv., and possibly, for single passages, the Ak. Some passages in the Thv. are no doubt taken from other sources which we do not yet know.

The Dhátuvaṃsa gives the legend of the visits of Buddha according to the M., after the conventional introduction,

which is quite concisely handled. Still, for that of the third visit, as for the later parts, local traditions were made use of which are not to be found in the epic. These traditions are often told in a form which is an evidence of the ever increasing authority of the poem of Mahánáma.

The Nikáyasañgraha is again a mere compilation which has grown out of the Smp., the MBv., the M., and the Thv. Whether it made use of the Ak. is not certain.

The Pújávali—I speak of the last chapter—the Rájaratnākara, and the Rájávali depend for the most part on the M. It should be said of the Rájaratn., that it also made use of the Pújáv. and the Nik. S., and it has taken its introduction from the Dal. Púj. The Rájáv., after the M., made use of the Pújáv., on which it depended for some important points, and also the Rájaratn. But the three last-named chronicles still have, if only in a measured degree, an importance independent of the M., from which they differ in many details, through following other traditions. On the whole, the Rájávali presents more new material than the others, and that material evidently from popular tradition.

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## SUPPLEMENT.

Comparative analysis of the *Dipavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, with reference to parallels in other books.

*Dipavaṃsa.*

I., 1-15.—Proem.

JNk. 2-30; 30-44; MBv. 10-11; MT. 77, 14 *et seq.*, 35, 13-40, 21; Dāthāv. 1, 11-22; Dal. Pūj. 2-4; PThv. 2-6, 6-14; SThv. 1-8, 8-17; Dhv. 1; Nik. S. 1-2; Sās. 2, 9-15.

History of the life of Buddha to the *sambodhi*: JNk. 47-68; MBv. 12-28; MT. 40-41; Dāthāv. 1, 23-36; Dal. Pūj. 4-6; PThv. 14-16; SThv. 17-29; Dhv. 1, 12-21; Nik. S. 2, 5-20; Sās. 2, 16-27.

I., 6-14.—Gotama attains Buddhahood.

JNk. 68-77, MBv. 28-34; MT. 41, 25-42, 11; Dāthāv. 1, 37-60; Dal. Pūj. 6-7; PThv. 16; SThv. 29-58; Dhv. 1, 21-2, 10; Nik. S. 2, 20-28; Sās. 2, 27-3, 4.

I., 15-28.—He foresees the future fate of Ceylon and the church.

MT. 42, 16-43, 23.

I., 29-44.—First teaching activities of Buddha.

JNk. 77 *et seq.*; MBv. 34 *et seq.*; MT. 43, 24-44, 34; Dāthāv. 1, 61-62; Dal. Pūj. 8; PThv. 16-17; SThv. (58-66), 66-69; Dhv. 2, 10-32; Nik. S. 2, 28-29.

I., 45-81.—First visit to Laṅkā; transplantation of the Yakkhas to Giridīpa.

Smp. 332, 26-30; MBv. 130-131; MT. 44, 35-51, 15; PThv. 47, 1-13; SThv. 134, 2-24; Dāthāv. 2, 1-6; Dal. Pūj. 8-9; Dhv. 2, 32-3, 16; Rājaratn. 4, 23-5, 10; Sās. 15, 27-30.

MBv. 131, 14-17; MT. 51, 15-37; PThv. 47, 13-24; SThv. 134, 24-135, 1; Dāthāv. 2, 7-10; Dal. Pūj. 9, 11-25; Dhv. 3, 16-31; Rājāv. 29, 26-32.

PThv. 47, 25-35; SThv. 135, 1-14; Dāthāv. 2, 50-51; Dhv. 3, 31-4, 7; Rājāv. 29, 32-30, 10.

*Mahāvaṃsa.*

I., 1-4.—Proem.

5-10.—List of the earlier Buddhas from whom the Bodhisatta received the prophecy of his future Buddhahood.

I., 11-13.—Gotama attains Buddhahood.

I., 14-18.—First teaching activities of Buddha.

I., 19-30.—First visit to Laṅkā; transplantation of the Yakkhas to Giridīpa.

I., 31-36.—Buddha preaches to the Devas, and leaves behind the hair relic, over which Sumana erects the Mahiyaṅgana Tope.

37-43.—Further history of the tope up to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

II., 1-51. — War between the Nāga princes Mahodara and Cūlodara. Buddha visits Laṇḍā for the second time and settles the dispute. Homage of the Nāga prince Maṇiakhika.

Smp. 332, 30-32; MBv. 131-132, Dāthāv. 2, 11-18; Dal. Púj. 9-10; Dhv. 4, 9-36; Sās. 16, 1-2.

II., 52-69.—Third visit of Buddha to Laṇḍā to Maṇiakhika. Buddha consecrates the place where the Bo-tree shall stand in the future.

Smp. 332, 32-333, 3; MBv. 132; Dāthāv. 2, 19-28, Dal. Púj. 10, 2-11, 3, Dhv. 4-9 (*cf.* above, 31), Sās. 16, 2-7

Continuation of the history of the life of Buddha: JNk. 81-94; MBv. 38-58.

Buddha's Nirvāṇa: MBv. 82-85; PThv. 17-19; SThv. 69-71; Dāthāv. 2, 29-37; Dal. Púj. 11, 3-30; Dhv. 9-10; Nk. S. 2, 29-3, 1.

Events immediately following the Nirvāṇa, quarrel over the relics, and the division of the same. Smp. 283; MBv. 85; MT. 92, 25 *et seq.*; PThv. 19-22, 22, 4-26; SThv. 71-77, 77, 17-85; Dāthāv. 2, 38-57; Dal. Púj. 12-13, Nk. S. 3, 1-9; Rājaraṭn. 6, 27-7, 6.

III., 1-9.—Kings from Mahāsammata to Accimā.

MT. 79-80; Rājāv. 5-7, 14.

III., 10-13.—Explanation of the different numbers.

III., 14-34a.—Kings from Accimā to Makhādeva, naming the last prince in each dynasty, as well as his residential town.

MT. 81-83, 7; Rājāv. 7, 14 *et seq.*

III., 34b-41b.—Kings from Makhādeva to Okkāka.

MT. 83, 7-84, 7; Rājāv. 7, 18-8, 7. MT. 84, 8-85; Rājāv. 8, 7-12, 23.

III., 41b-44a.—From Okkākamukha to Jayasena.

III., 44b-47. — Sihahanu and his family, from which Buddha was descended.

MT. 86, 87; Rājāv. 12, 23-28.

*Mahāvamsa.*

I., 44-70. — War between the Nāga princes Mahodara and Cūlodara. Buddha visits Laṇḍā for the second time and settles the dispute. Homage of the Nāga prince Maṇiakhika.

I., 71-83.—Third visit of Buddha to Laṇḍā to Maṇiakhika. Buddha consecrates the future holy places of Ceylon.

II., 1-6.—Kings from Mahāsammata to Accimā.

II., 7-9.—Dynasties before Makhādeva, stating only the number of the princes in each dynasty.

II., 10-11. — Kings from Makhādeva to Okkāka.

Founding of the Sakya dynasty :

II., 12-15a.—From Okkākamukha to Jayasena.

II., 15b-24.—Sihahanu and the family of Buddha.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

III., 48-50.—Summary.

III., 51-61.—Suddhodana and Bhātiya; Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu and their connection with Buddha.

IV., 1-26.—Five hundred chosen monks hold the First Council under the leadership of Kassapa. Upāli and Ananda co-operate in establishing the canon.

CV. XI., D. 5, 1-15; Smp. 283-291; MBv. 85-96; Nik. S. 3, 10-4, 17; Rājaraṭn. 7, 6-21; Sās. 3, 19-5, 25.

Ajātasattu built the *Dhātunidhāna* PThv. 26, 26-28, 12; SThv. 85, 34-88, 21 *Cf* M. 31, 17 *et seq*; MT. 408 and 411.

IV., 27-46.—Upāli is recognized as head of the church by Buddha; he is followed by Dāsaka, then Soṇaka.

*ācariyaparamparā*: Smp. 291-293; 313, 5-314, 16; *cf.* 341-343. Nik. S. 10-11; Rājaraṭn. 15, 28-34; Sās. 19, 28-20, 5.

Smp. 321, 3-14; MBv. 96, 1-6; Nik. S. 4, 17-21; Rājaraṭn. 7, 22-26; history of Susunāga: MT. 100-101.

IV., 47-53. — The Vajji monks proclaim the *dasa vatthūni* at Vesālī. Seven hundred monks assemble at Vesālī for the Second Council, and declare their allegiance to the old teachings.

CV. XII.; D. 5, 16-38; Smp. 293-294; MBv. 96-98; Nik. S. 4, 21-6, 12 (episode of Kālāsoka's dream 5, 13-32); Rājaraṭn. 7-8; Sās. 5, 27-7, 21.

V., 1-15.—Second account of the First Council,

*Mahāvāṃsa.*

II., 25-32.—Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu and their connection with Buddha.

MT. 88, §9.

III., 1-42.—At the suggestion of Mahākassapa, five hundred monks hold the First Council in the Sattapaṇṇi cave near Rājagaha under the protection of Ajātasattu, when the canon was established in its essential points by the joint assistance of the Theras Upāli and Ananda.

PThv. 26, 26-28, 12; SThv. D. 5, 69-107; M. 5, 107-121; Sās. 13, 6-8; 20, 26-21, 1.

IV., 1-8. — Udayabhadda, Anuruddha, Muṇḍa, Nāga-dāsa succeed Ajātasattu. Susunāga obtains the throne by insurrection; his son is Kālāsoka.

IV., 9-65.—The Vajji monks proclaim the *dasa vatthūni* at Vesālī. The Thera Yasa at first opposes it. He and other prominent monks lay the points of debate before Revata, who declares the *dasa vatthūni* as heresy, and sends back the delegates from the Vajji. The latter speak evil of their opponents to Kālāsoka, who however is warned in a dream. The orthodox monks refute the *dasa vatthūni* at Vesālī, and there hold the Second Council under the guidance of Revata.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

V., 16-38.—Second account of the Second Council. The Vajji monks accept the *mahā-saṅgīti*, a modified canon, at a special Council.

V., 39-54.—After this first schism many new sects are formed.

MBv. 96-97. Cf. MBv. 109-110, Nik. S. 8, 7 *et seq.*, 8, 25-9 last line; Sās. 14, 3-19; cf. 24, 10-25, 4.

V., 55-59. — Prophecy of Tissa Moggaliputta.

V., 60-68.—T.M. is dedicated to the priesthood by Siggava.

V., 69-107.—Enumeration of the heads of the Church from Upāli to T.M. and the fixing of the length of their lives. The successor to T.M. is Mahinda.

MBv. 98 (names of the sons of Asoka and of Nanda); Nik. S. 6, 29-7, 3; Rājaraṭṭ. 8, 10 *et seq.*

History of the Nandas: Mṭ 117, 17 *et seq.*

History of the Moriyas: Mṭ 119, 8. Candagutta: 121, 22 *et seq.*, 124, 33 *et seq.* Bindusāra, Mṭ 124, 3 *et seq.* History of Asoka: Mṭ 125, 35 *et seq.* His ascent to the throne: Smp. 299, 17 *et seq.*; MBv. 98-100; Mṭ 127, 30 *et seq.*; PThv. 28, 17 *et seq.*; SThv. 88, 26 *et seq.*, Nik. S. 7, 3 *et seq.*; Rājaraṭṭ. 8, 16, *et seq.*

VI., 1-14. — Piyadassana (Asoka) becomes king; his ascent to the throne is accompanied by many signs and wonders.

Smp. 299, 17-300, 13; MBv. 100, 8-18; PThv. 28, 22-29, 6; SThv. 88, 35-89.

*Mahāvamsa.*

Sās. 13, 24-14, 3.

V., 1-13.—After the separation of the Mahāsaṅgha from the Theravāda a number of other sects arise.

Cf. M. 5, 98-105.

Cf. D. 4, 27-46, M. 5, 122-132; Sās. 13, 7-9; 21, 1-4.

V., 14-21a.—Kālāsoka's ten sons succeed him; then follow the nine Nanda princes, of which Dhanananda is the last. He is killed by Cānakka, who raises Candagutta of the Moriya clan to the throne. He is succeeded by Bindusāra, who is followed by Asoka after killing his brothers.

V., 21b-35.—The ascent to the throne of Asoka is accompanied by many signs and wonders.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

VI., 24-56.—Asoka at first supports the Brahmans, but later is converted to the Buddhist faith.

Smp. 300, 32-301, 19, 302, 5-21; MBv. 100, 14-21; 100, 27-101, 10; PThv. 29, 23-37; 30, 23-37; SThv. 91, 32-92, 8; 93, 17-32.

Smp. 301, 19-302, 5; MBv. 100, 22-27; PThv. 30, 5-37; SThv. 92, 33-93, 17.

Smp. 302, 21-24; PThv. 30 37-38; SThv. 93, 35-36; Pújāv. 2, 26-3, 12; Rájáv. 19, 13-20

VI., 57-99.—Asoka pays reverence to the Buddhist community by liberal gifts and by building many monasteries.

Smp. 302, 24-303, 34; 303, 34-304, 13; MBv. 101, 11-19, 101, 28-102, 6; PThv. 31, 1-17; 31, 17-25; 31, 25-32, 3; SThv. 93, 36-95, 4; 85, 5-19; 95, 20-96, 3; Nik. S. 7, 9-13; Rájaratn. 8, 29-34; Rájáv. 19, 20-21; Sás. 8, 1-6.

Smp. 300, 12-31; MBv. 101; PThv. 29, 6-24; SThv. 89, 30-91, 31.

Smp. 294, 32-296, 12, MBv. 103-104. Cf. D. 5, 55-59.

*Mahāvamsa.*

V., 36-42.—Asoka, who at first supports the Brahmans, is converted by Nigrodha.

V., 43-50a.—Nigrodha is the son of Sumana, brother of Asoka. He was born in a Candála village, after the murder of his father, and was there brought up by his mother; later he is dedicated to the priesthood by the Thera Mahávaruna.

V., 50b-63.—In a former existence Asoka, Nigrodha, and Devánampiyatissa were brothers, who were honey traders.

V., 64-88.—Asoka summons Nigrodha to come to him, and is converted by him. He makes many gifts to the Buddhist community and builds monasteries.

V., 89-97.—Legend of Mahákāla, the Nāga king, who prepared a picture of Buddha for Asoka.

V., 98-106.—Prophecy of the theras of the Second Council that Moggaliputta Tissa should be head of the next Council.

V., 107-121.—History of Dāsaka, the pupil of Upāli, and of Soṇaka, the pupil of Dāsaka.



*Dīpavaṃsa.*

Smp. 296, 13-299, 16; MBv. 104-105.

Smp. 307, 32-308, 32, MBv. 106, 15-27.

VII., 1-31.—At a great gathering of monks in Asokārāma, Asoka sees by the *lokavivarana* wonder performed by the theras all the monasteries which had been built by him. His son Mahinda and his daughter Saṅghamittā are received into the order.

Smp. 364, 13-306, 18; MBv. 102, 6-28; PThv. 32, 3-7; 33, 21-34, 10; SThv. 96, 3-6; 97, 36-98, 29; Nik. S. 7, 13-22; cf. Rājaraṭn. 8, 32; Rājāv. 19, 22-23. Asoka finds the relics of the *Dhātunidhāna*: PThv. 32, 8-33, 20; SThv. 96, 6-97, 35.

VII., 32.—Death of Tissa and Sumittā.

Smp. 306, 18-27

VII., 34-43. — The golden age of the Buddhist teachings. As heresy however becomes rife, the Third Council was held by Moggaliputta.

VII., 44-59. — Second account of the Third Council. Violent act of one of Asoka's ministers.

Intrusion of heresy: Smp. 306, 35-307, 18; MBv. 103, 5-16; Nik. S. 7, 23-32; Rājaraṭn. 9, 7-16. Asoka's remorse and the summons of Moggaliputta: Smp. 309, 4-312, 28 (Asoka's dream. 310, 12-18; reciting of the Tittirijāt, 311-312); MBv. 107, 3-110, 18; Nik. S. 7, 32-8, 13. Third Council: Smp. 312, 28-313, 3; MBv. 110, 19-111, 6; Nik. S. 8, 13-24; Rājaraṭn. 9, 16-25; Sās. 8, 13-9, 27.

*Mahāvamsa.*

V., 122-132.—History of Siggava and Caṇḍavajji, pupils of Sonaka and the future teachers of Moggaliputta Tissa.

V., 133-155a.—The boyhood of Moggaliputta Tissa and his conversion by Siggava.

V. 155b-174a. — Asoka's younger brother Tissa is ordained a monk.

V., 174b-213a. — On the occasion of a festival which takes place in Asokārāma, on the completion of the monastery built by the king, and at which the theras performed the *lokavivarana* wonder, the children of Asoka, Mahinda, and Saṅghamittā enter the order.

V., 213b-230a.—History of the Theras Tissa and Sumittā.

V., 230b-282. — Heretical monks become numerous in the order, hindering the orthodox monks in the exercise of their duty. A minister of King Asoka, who is sent to reconcile the monks, lets himself be carried away by a deed of violence. Asoka greatly fears that he will be partly guilty of the deed. He summons the Thera Moggaliputta, who reassures the king; in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka the Third Council is held at Pāṭaliputta.

*Dipavamsa.*

VIII., 1-13.—At this Council several theras are deputed to preach the Buddhist doctrines in foreign lands. Mahinda is sent to Laṅkā.

IX., 1-5.—History of the union of the Vanga princess with a lion. Her children are Sivali and Sihabāhu. The latter builds Sihapura.

Pūjāv. 1, 1-6; Rājaratn. 1, 12-23; Rājāv. 12, 29-14, 1. Kings of Ceylon from Vijaya to Muṭasīva. Smp. 320, 19-321, 2; MBv. 111-113; Nik. S. 9, 32-10, 1; Rājaratn. 9, 26-31.

IX., 6-30.—Vijaya, Sihabāhu's son, has to leave his country, and lands with 700 followers in Laṅkā.

Cf. D. 9, 33-25; Daḷ. Pūj. 11, 8-25; Rājaratn. 2, 24 *et seq.*, 5, 19 *et seq.*

History of Vijaya: Pūjāv. 1, 6-11; Rājaratn. 3, 2 *et seq.*; 3, 20 *et seq.*; 5, 23 *et seq.*; Rājāv. 14, 4-16, 28

IX., 31-38. — Founding of cities in Ceylon.

IX., 39-41.—Chronology of events.

Rājāv. 16, 28-17, 5.

*Mahāvamsa.*

Cf. M. 12, 1-8. See there for further information.

VI., 1-38.—A Vanga princess lives in the jungle with a lion. She bears him two children, Sihabāhu and Sivali. The mother and children escape. The lion searches for them, and is killed by Sihabāhu. Sihabāhu marries his sister and founds the city of Sihapura.

VI., 39-46.—Vijaya, Sihabāhu's son, has to leave his country, and lands with 700 followers in Laṅkā.

VII., 1-9.—Buddha, before his death, entrusts the care of Laṅkā to the God Sakka. At Sakka's command Viṣṇu takes Vijaya under his protection.

VII., 10-38a.—Vijaya (38 years) subdues the witch Kuveni, makes her his wife, and with her assistance subdues the Yakkhas living in Laṅkā.

VII., 38b-47.—Founding of cities in Ceylon.

VII., 48-73.—Vijaya woos a daughter of the king of Madhura and obtains her for his wife. He procures wives also for his followers from Madhura. He disowns Kuveni, who is afterwards slain by the Yakkhas.

*Dīpavamsa.*

IX., 42-44.—Vijaya sends messengers to Sumitta at Sīhapura, offering him the succession in Laṅkā.

Upatissa : Pūjāv. 1, 11 *et seq.* ; Rājaraṭṭ. 5, last line but one ; Rājāv. 17, 5-13 (32 years).

X., 1-9.—Fragmentary accounts of Paṇḍuvāsa and Kaccānā, of Abhaya and Cittā, as well as of Gāmani. the husband of Cittā.

Pūjāv. 1, 13-2, 10. Rājaraṭṭ. 5, last line ; Rājāv. 17, 13-19, 2. The Pūjāv. allows Abhaya a reign of 20 years. the Rājāv. 22 ; the Rājaraṭṭ. does not even mention him (after Paṇḍuvāsa there is an interregnum of 17 years, then Gaṇatissa succeeds). Rājāv. 18, 1 *et seq.* ; King Paṇḍuvāsa lies in a deep unconsciousness. In order to heal him the gods decide to send the Māla king to Ceylon. Rāhu, in the form of a boar, entices him while hunting to the neighbourhood of the sick prince, whom he restores to health.

XI., 1-4. — Reign of Paṇḍa. It lasts 70 years. Between Abhaya and Paṇḍa is an interregnum of 17 years.

*Mahāvamsa.*

VIII., 1-17.—Vijaya sends messengers to Sumitta at Sīhapura, offering him the succession in Laṅkā. His son Paṇḍuvāsa comes in his place to Laṅkā. In the meantime Vijaya has died, and Upatissa has succeeded to the throne (1 year)

VIII., 18-27.—Paṇḍuvāsa (30 years) marries the Sakya princess Bhaddakaccānā, who comes over from India.

IX., 1-5.—Bhaddakaccānā bears a son named Abhaya and a daughter named Cittā. It is prophesied of the latter that her son should kill his uncle and thereafter take the kingdom for himself.

IX., 6-12.—The brothers of Kaccānā go from India to Ceylon and establish cities there.

IX., 13-28. — In spite of Cittā being kept in seclusion in a well guarded chamber, she manages to form a love alliance with the Sakya prince Dīghagāmani, and bears him a son, Paṇḍukābhaya. In order to save him she exchanges the boy for a daughter of a slave born at the same time. Paṇḍuvāsa dies ; Abhaya succeeds him (20 years).

X., 1-26a.—Paṇḍukābhaya, who is brought up in the country by a herdsman, escapes from his uncle.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

Paṇḍukābhaya : Pūjāv. 2, 10-17. Paṇḍukābhaya marries the daughter of his uncle, Harikaṇḍa, makes the Bayā tank at Anurādhapura (70 years): Rājaraṭn. 6, 6-9; builds Anurādhapura, determines the boundaries in Laṇkā, lays out the Abā tank (77 years): Rājāv. 19, 3-8; marries the daughter of his uncle, Harikaṇḍa, makes the Tisā tank, and does other works (30 years); he is succeeded by Gaṇa-tissa (40 years). Cf. MBv. 112, 19. The Rājāv. includes a Paṇḍukābhaya II., who reigns 70 years

XI., 5-7. — Muṭasīva (60 years) succeeds Pakuṇḍa; he has ten sons and two daughters.

Muṭasīva : Pūjāv. 2, 17-19; Rājaraṭn. 6, 9-11; Rājāv. 19, 8-9

XI., 8-13. — Chronological summary from Vijaya to Muṭasīva.

XI., 14-31. — Devānāmpiyatissa becomes king. Upon his ascent to the throne many kinds of treasures appear, which he sends by Ariṭṭha to King Asoka, with whom he lives in friendship, although they have never met.

Simp. 321, 34-322, 19; PThv. 35, 34-36, 10; SThv. 100, 33-101, 12; Pūjāv. 2, 20-24; 3, 16-4, 2.

XI., 32-40. — Asoka sends back presents and recommends that Devānampiyatissa should accept the Buddhist doctrine. After the return of the messengers, a second coronation of Devānampiyatissa takes place.

*Mahāvamsa.*

X., 26b-39. — He prepares for fighting. On the way he meets Suvannapālī, the daughter of one of his uncles, and makes her his wife.

X., 40-63. — The fight begins. Paṇḍukābhaya vanquishes the witch Cetiyā, who serves him, in the guise of a mare, as his war horse.

X., 64-104. — Paṇḍukābhaya gains the victory, and reigns in Anurādhapura, which city he enlarges and beautifies. He reigns 70 years. There is an interregnum of 17 years between Abhaya and Paṇḍukābhaya.

XI., 1-5. — Muṭasīva (60 years) lays out the Mahāmegha garden; he has ten sons and two daughters.

XI., 6-26. — Devānampiyatissa (40 years) becomes king. Upon his ascent to the throne all kinds of treasures appear, which he sends by Ariṭṭha to King Asoka, with whom he lives in friendship, although they have never met.

XI., 27-41. — Asoka sends back Devānampiyatissa's messengers with presents, and recommends the adoption of the Buddhist faith. After the return of the messengers, a second coronation of Devānampiyatissa takes place.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

XII., 1-7.—Second account of Asoka's presents and the message.

Smp. 322, 19-323, 8; 323, 9-11; PThv. 36, 10-17; SThv. 101, 12-17; Pūjāv. 4, 2-8. Description of the *rājābhiseka*. M'T 213, 15 *et seq.*

D. 8, 1-13; Smp. 314, 17-318, 25; MBv. 113-115; PThv. 34, 11-25; SThv. 98, 29-99, 8; Pūjāv. 4, 18-7, 16; Sās. 10, 10-13, 5.

Smp. 315, 1-316, 18; MBv. 113, 24-114, 11; Pūjāv. 4, last line, to 5, 30.

Smp. 316, 19-317, 27; MBv. 114, 12-115, 11; Pūjāv. 5, 30-6, 29.

Smp. 317, 28-318, 25; MBv. 115, 12-29; Pūjāv. 6, 29-7, 16.

XII., 8-34. — The theras appoint Mahinda to go to Laṅkā. He departs, accompanied by the four monks Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla, and Sambala, as well as the novice Sumana, to Vedissagiri, where he instructs his mother in the faith. At Sakka's command he sets out for Ceylon.

Smp. 318, 26-319, 29; MBv. 115, last line, to 116, 16; PThv. 34, 25-35, 8; SThv. 99, 8-37; Pūjāv. 7, 17 *et seq.*; Rājaratn. 10, 4 *et seq.*; Rājāv. 19, 22 *et seq.*

XII., 35-44.—Mahinda, by flying through the air, comes to Ceylon with his companions, and alights on the Missaka mountain.

Smp. 319, 30-320, 18; MBv. 116, 16-117, 8; PThv. 15, 8-16; SThv. 99, 37-100, 12; Sās. 16, 8-17, 6.

*Mahāvamsa.*

XII., 1-8.—After the conclusion of the Third Council missionaries are sent to foreign lands. Mahinda is chosen for Ceylon.

XII., 9-28. — Majjhantika converts the Nāga king Aravāla in Kasmīra and Gandhāra.

XII., 29-43.—Success of the other missionaries.

XII., 44-54.—Uttara and Sona subdue the fiend in the Golden Land.

XIII., 1-14.—Mahinda considers that it is not yet the time to depart for Laṅkā. He sets out therefore for Vedissagiri, accompanied by four monks and the novice Sumana. Here his mother dwells, whom Asoka had married when he was vice-king in Ujjenī.

XIII., 15-20.—At Sakka's command Mahinda sets out, reaches Ceylon by flying through the air, and alights on the Missaka mountain.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

XII., 45-61. — Devānam-piyatissa, who is hunting, meets Mahinda and listens to his preaching.

Smp. 321, 15-36 ; 323, 11-324, 12 ; MBv. 117-119 ; PThv. 35, 16-33 ; 36, 18-28 ; SThv. 100, 12-32 ; 101, 17-29 ; Pújāv. 8, 1-9, 17 ; 9, 17-10, 2 ; Sās. 17, 7-19, 25.

XII., 62-63.—In the evening the king returns to the city ; Mahinda ordains Bhaṇḍuka.

Smp. 324, 12-325, 6 ; MBv. 119, 11-120, 7 ; PThv. 36, 29-37, 3 ; SThv. 101, 29-102, 3 ; Pújāv. 10, 2-33.

XII., 64-86.—On the following morning, Mahinda with his companions are welcomed with ceremony into the city, and the first sermon is given in the presence of the queen Anulá.

Smp. 325, 7-326, 8 ; MBv. 120, 7-122, 17 ; PThv. 37, 3-19 ; SThv. 102, 3-26 ; Pújāv. 10, 33-11, 14.

XIII., 1-25. — Mahinda preaches to the people in the elephant hall, and in the Mahánandana garden. He spends the night in the Megha park.

Smp. 326, 8-19, 19-36 ; MBv. 122, 17-30 ; 123, 1-23 ; PThv. 37, 19-32, 32-36 ; SThv. 102, 26-103, 1 ; Pújāv. 11, 14-22.

XIII., 26-37.—In the morning the king seeks the theeras and gives the Meghavāna as a present to the priesthood.

Smp. 326, 36-327, 11 ; MBv. 123, 23-124, 12 ; Thv. 37, 36-38, 5 ; SThv. 103, 1-12 ; Pújāv. 11, 22-25. Cf. Smp. 333, 19-28 ; PThv. 41, 12-21 ; SThv. 107, 34-108, 19.

*Mahāvamsa.*

XIV., 1-23. — Devānam-piyatissa, who is hunting, meets Mahinda ; he is put to the test by him through riddles, and listens to his preaching.

XIV., 24-41.—In the evening the king returns to the city ; Mahinda ordains Bhaṇḍuka. Sumana proclaims the hour for preaching, so that it is heard throughout the whole Island. Gods and demigods assemble to listen to the preaching.

XIV., 42-58.—On the following morning, Mahinda with his companions are welcomed with ceremony into the city, and the first sermon is preached in the presence of the queen Anulá.

XIV., 59-65. — Mahinda gives his second sermon to the people gathered together in the elephant hall.

XV., 1-13.—After Mahinda has preached in the Nandana garden, he passes the night in the Mahámegha park.

XV., 14-26.—In the morning the king, accompanied by Anulá, seeks the theeras, and dedicates to the priesthood the Mahámeghavāna.

*Dīpavamsa.*

XIII., 38-64. — Mahinda dedicates the sites where later the monasteries will be built. The act is accompanied by earthquakes.

Smp. 340, 32-341, 15; MBv. 124-125 last line; PThv. 43, 24-31; SThv. 111, 7-18; Pújāv. 11, 25-32.

XIV., 1-7. — The place is pointed out upon which the Great Tope will be built.

Smp. 341, 15-23; MBv. 125 last line to 126, 7; PThv. 43, 31-36; SThv. 111, 18-27; Pújāv. 11, 32-12, 2.

Smp. 330, 17-331, 21; MBv. 126, 8-130, 23, D. 15, 34-73.

Smp. 341, 23-30; MBv. 132, 23-133, 11; PThv. 43, 36-44, 4; SThv. 111, 27-34.

XIV., 8-19. — Mahinda makes two begging expeditions and preaches in the city.

Smp. 327, 11-15.

XIV., 20-40. — The boundaries of the Tissárāma are solemnly fixed by the king and the theras.

XIV., 41-54. — The begging expedition and the preaching in the city repeated.

Smp. 327, 15-17.

*Mahāvamsa.*

XV., 27-50. — Mahinda dedicates the sites where later the monasteries will be built. The act is accompanied by earthquakes.

XV., 51-55a. — The place is pointed out upon which the Great Tope will be built.

XV., 55b-165. — On this occasion Mahinda relates to the king the legend of the four last Buddhas, who had tarried at these places and had thereby consecrated them.

XV., 166-173. — The king wishes to erect the thúpa himself, but Mahinda informs him that it is reserved for one of his successors to do this, viz., Dutthagāmani.

XV., 174-187. — Mahinda accepts the Tissárāma and preaches in the city, as also on third and fourth days.

XV., 188-213. — The boundaries of the Tissárāma are solemnly fixed by the king and the theras.

MBv. 133-138.

XV., 214-219. — Mahinda's sermons on the fifth, sixth, and seventh days.

XV., 22-231. — The name of the Mahánandana park is changed, erection of different buildings for the monks, and the founding of monasteries.

Short summary of the events of the third to the seventh days: PThv. 38, 5-8; SThv. 103, 12-17; Pújāv. 12, 2-14.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

XIV., 55-80.—Mahinda returns with his followers to the Missaka mountain. The king follows and finds it is their intention to spend the rainy season there. The mountain is dedicated for a monastery. Mahāriṭṭha and many nobles enter the order.

Smp. 327, 18-328, 6; MBv. 138 139; PThv. 38, 8-21; SThv. 103, 17-34; Pújāv. 12, 15-16.

XV., 1-33.—By Mahinda's order Sumana fetches the relics of Buddha from King Asoka; then from the god Sakka the right collar bone of the Master. Wonders confirm the authenticity of the relics, which are then entombed in a thūpa.

Smp. 328, 7-330, 16; 331, 30-332, 25; 333, 3-18; MBv. 139-144; PThv. 38, 21-41, 10; SThv. 103, 34-107, 31; Pújāv. 12, 16-22; Rājāratn. 10, 22-11, 10; Rājāv. 19, 27-31. The five *adhiṭṭhāna* (M. 17, 46 *et seq.*): Smp. 335, 3-17; MBv. 147, 7-24.

XV., 34-73.—History of the four last Buddhas and their miracles in Ceylon.

XV., 74-95.—Anulā wishes to enter the order of nuns. Ariṭṭha is sent to Pāṭaliputta to persuade Saṅghamittā to come to Ceylon in order to ordain Anulā. Saṅghamittā consents.

Smp. 333, 19-335, 2; MBv. 144-147; PThv. 41, 11-42, 2; SThv. 107, 34-109, 3; Pújāv. 12, 22-25; Rājāratn. 10, 20-22; Rājāv. 19, 31-20, 4 (a few differences).

Smp. 335, 18-337, 31; MBv. 147-153; PThv. 42, 2-17; SThv. 109, 3-28.

*Mahāvamsa.*

XVI., 1-17. — The monks return to the Cetiya mountain. The king follows and finds it is their intention to spend the rainy season there. His minister Mahāriṭṭha enters the order. The mountain is dedicated for a monastery.

XVII., 1-64.—Sumana fetches the relics of Buddha from King Asoka, by Mahinda's command; then from the god Sakka the right hand collar bone of Buddha. Marvels testify to the genuineness of the relics. They are watched during the night by the state elephant. On the following day fresh wonders happen and many people are converted to the Buddhist faith. The king builds the Thūpārāma Tope over the relics.

*Cf.* M 15, 56-165.

XVIII., 1-18.—Mahāriṭṭha is sent to Pāṭaliputta. He is to fetch a branch of the Bo-tree. He is also to prevail upon Saṅghamittā to come to Ceylon, in order that she may ordain Anulā, who wishes to become a nun.

XVIII., 19-67. — Asoka plants a branch of the Bo-tree in order to send it to Ceylon; it separates itself from the stem in a wonderful manner during a solemn ceremony.



*Dípavam̐sa.*

XVI., 1-7.—Saṅghamittá takes a branch of the Bo-tree with her and is accompanied by Asoka to the coast.

Smp. 337, 32-338, 19; MBv. 153-155; PThv. 42, 17-25; SThv. 109, 28-37.

XVI., 8-37.—The ship carrying the Bo-tree crosses the ocean. The Nágas make reverence to the tree. In Laṅká, Devánampiyatissa receives it with solemn pomp.

Smp. 338, 19-340, 2; MBv. 155-161; 163, 1 *et seq.*; PThv. 42, 25-43, 18; SThv. 109, 37-110.

Smp. 340, 2-23; MBv. 161-162; Pújáv. 12, 25-29.

XVI., 38-41.—Anulá and Ariṭṭha receive ordination.

Smp. 340, 23-31; MBv. 167, 24-168, 3; PThv. 43, 20-24; SThv. 111, 1-6; Pújáv. 12, 29-13, 1.

MBv. 168, 4-7.

XVII., 1-25.—Second account of Laṅká at the time of the last four Buddhas.

XVII., 26-72.—Kakusan-  
dha's visit to Ojadípa.

XVII., 73-74.—The sacred trees of the last four Buddhas.

XVII., 75-76.—The children of Muṭasíva.

XVII., 77-88.—Recapitulation of events before the conversion of Laṅká.

*Mahávam̐sa.*

XIX., 1-15.—Asoka accompanies the Bo-tree and Saṅghamittá in solemn procession to the coast.

XIX., 16-51.—The ship with the sacred tree crosses the ocean. After tarrying in the kingdom of the Nágas, who pay it reverence, the tree arrives in Laṅká. Devánampiyatissa accompanies it in solemn procession to Anurádhapura, and there plants it; at the same time many wonders happen.

XIX., 52-63.—New shoots appear in a wonderful manner from the sacred tree and are planted in various places.

XIX., 64-66.—Anulá and Ariṭṭha receive ordination.

XIX., 67-83.—Saṅghamittá remains; the history of the founding of the Hattháḥhaka monastery.

Cf. M. 15, 57-90; D. 15, 34-43.

XX., 1-6.—The last days of King Asoka.

*Dīpavaṃsa.*

XVII., 89-92.—The meritorious deeds of Devānampiyatissa.

PThv. 44, 5-14; SThv. 112, 1-8; Pújāv. 13, 1-19; 15, 18-16, 1; Rájaratn. 11, 10-15; Rájáv. 20, 4-8.

XVII., 93-109.—Mahinda dies during the reign of Uttiya (10 years), and is cremated with honour.

XVIII., 1-44.—List of the celebrated therís.

PThv. 44, 14-15 (10 years); SThv. 112, 8-10 (10 years); Nik. S. 10, 9-14 (list of the kings from Uttiya to Vaḷagambá); Pújāv. 14, 1-16 (kings from Vijaya to Mahásena); 16, 1-2 (Uttiya 10 years); Rájaratn. 11, 16-23; Rájáv. 20, 25-28 (Súratissa 10 years, Upatissa 10 years); 20, 30 (Uttiya).

XVIII., 45-48.—Reign of Síva (10 years), of Súratissa (10 years), who builds five hundred monasteries, of the two Damiḷa, Sena and Gutta (12 years), and of Asela (10 years).

PThv. 44, 15-20; SThv. 112, 10-17; Pújāv. 16, 2-8; Rájaratn. 11, 23-27; Rájáv. 20, 30-34 (two Damiḷas and Asela).

XVIII., 49-52.—The Damiḷa Elára reigns in justice 44 years.

PThv. 44, 20-23; SThv. 112, 17-19; Pújāv. 16, 8-12; Rájaratn. 11, 27-28; Rájáv. 21, 1-10 (1).

*Mahāvāṃsa.*

XX., 7-28. — Meritorious deeds of Devānampiyatissa.

XX., 29-58.—Mahinda dies during the reign of Uttiya (10 years), and is cremated with honour. Death of the remaining theras and therís.

XXI., 1-12. — Mahásíva reigns 10 years, also Súratissa for the same time, who builds five hundred monasteries. He is succeeded by the two Damiḷa, Sena and Guttika (22 years), who are succeeded by Asela (10 years).

XXI., 13-34.—The Damiḷa Elára kills Asela. He reigns 44 years and gives proof of his extraordinary just rule on many occasions.

## MAHÁVAMSA.\*

History of Duṭthagāmani.

(D. 18, 53-54; 19, 1-9; 19, 23.)

XXII., 1-12.—A younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, Mahánāga, flees to Rohaṇa from the persecution of the queen, where he establishes a kingdom with Mahágāma as his capital. His son Yaṭṭhālatissa succeeds him, then his grandson Goṭṭhābhaya, who is succeeded by his great-grandson Kākavaṇṇatissa, the husband of Vihāradēvī.

XXII., 13-24.—The marvellous history of Vihāradēvī, daughter of Tissa of Kalyāṇī (p. 92 *et seq.*). Meritorious works of Kākavaṇṇatissa.†

XXII., 25-41.—Vihāradēvī destines an important monk of the Kotipabbata monastery, who is near death, to be re-born as her son in his next existence.

XXII., 42-72.—The monk dies, and Vihāradēvī becomes pregnant. Her remarkable pregnancy longings indicate the birth of a son of extraordinary gifts. She bears a son, who is named Gāmani Abhaya; on the same day the elephant Kaṇḍula is born, and is discovered and brought to the king.

MT. 313, 15 *et seq.* (pregnancy longings of Vihāradēvī).

XXII., 73-85.—Vihāradēvī bears a second son, Tissa. Both boys are brought up together in adherence to the Buddhist faith and in enmity to the Damiḷa.

For the dynasty of Rohaṇa see PThv. 44, 25-45, 18; SThv. 112, 21-119, 10 (fuller than the PThv.); Dhv. 16-29 (! *cf.* p. 93); Pájāv. 16, 12-25; Rájaratn. 11, 30-12, 23; Rájāv. 20, 9-24, last line.

XXIII., 1-102.—History of the ten heroes of Duṭthagāmani.

PThv. 45, 18-23; with more detail, SThv. 119-10, 127, 29; Rájāv. 25, 1-27, 13 (especially the history of Nandimitta and Nirmala); D. 18, 53; *cf.* Saddharmālaṅkāra, chap. 14, 3-16, 2.

XXIV., 1-17.—Gāmani dwells in Mahágāma, Tissa in Díghavāpi. Gāmani wishes to begin war with the Damiḷas, but is prevented from so doing by his father. He speaks

\* In the following pages I give an analysis of the M. only, adding parallel passages from the D. (last chapter of which is almost entirely made up of isolated verses), mentioning researches in other literatures.

† In the Nik. S. 10, 10 *et seq.* the Rohaṇa princes from Mahánāga to Kāvantissa are simply inserted in the list of kings between Elāra and Duṭṭhagemuṇu.

scornfully of his father and flees to Malaya from his wrath. Kákavaṇṇa dies; Tissa takes possession of the queen-mother as well as the state elephant. Gámani comes to Mahágáma to seize the throne.

PThv. 45, 23-37; SThv. 127, 29-128, 27; Rájáv. 27, 13-28, 8.

XXIV., 18-59.—A war takes place between the brothers. In the first encounter Gámani is defeated and has to flee; but he collects new forces and is victorious in the second fight. In single conflict with his brother, Tissa saves himself by dishonourable flight. He takes refuge in a monastery, where the monks shelter him in safety. Later the presbyter of the monastery brings about the reconciliation of the brothers.

PThv. 45, 37-46, 31; SThv. 128, 27-132, 25; Rájáv. 28, 8-29, 25.

XXV., 1-51.—Gámani crosses the Gaṅgá and captures a series of earthworks of the Daṃḷa. He proves the courage of his hero Nandimitta by setting his elephant Kaṇḍula upon him. He then advances upon Vijitapura and, after a fierce battle, takes the town by storm. Gámani's heroes and Kaṇḍula distinguish themselves by their bravery. Gámani encamps safely on the Kása hill.

D. 18, 54; PThv. 46, 31-37; 48, 1-49, 26; SThv. 132, 25-134, 2 (with more detail than the PThv.); 135, 16-139, 17; Pújáv. 16, 25-17, 1; Rájaratn. 13, 13-17; Rájáv. 29, 25-33, 1.

XXV., 52-75.—Elára advances with his army. He is defeated in the battle, and Gámani's hero, Súranimila, kills the strongest man of the Daṃḷa, Díghajantu. Gámani himself kills Elára in single combat and has him buried with kingly honours.

PThv. 49, 26-50, 24; SThv. 139, 17-141, 28; Pújáv. 17, 1-5; Rájaratn. 13, 17-18; Rájáv. 33, 1-34, 14.

XXV., 76-100.—A nephew of Díghajantu, Bhalluka, comes from India to Elára's assistance and arrives on the day of his death. Gámani advances against him and is victorious. Bhalluka falls by the hand of the hero Phussadeva, whom Gámani generously rewards.

PThv. 50, 24-51, 12; SThv. 141, 29-143, 5; Rájáv. 34, 15-35, 18.

XXV., 101-116.—Gámani, who now has Anurádhapura and the monarchy in possession, is tormented by remorse for the bloodshed he has caused. Theras arrive from Piyaṅgu to comfort him, and they point out his duty to become a protector of the Buddhist faith. Gámani remembers an offence which he once committed against a vow.

PThv. 51, 19-34; SThv. 143, 21-144, 24.

XXVI., 1-5.—Gámani praises his heroes. The hero Thera-puttábhaya tells him of his resolve to become a monk.

PThv. 51, 13-19; SThv. 143, 5-21,

XXVI., 6-26.—The king holds a festival at the Tissa tank. As the result of a miraculous sign, he builds the Maricavatti tope and monastery, in order to atone for his misdeeds.

PThv. 51, 34-52, 30; SThv. 144, 24-146, 2; Pújáv. 17, 8-13; Rájaratn. 13, 19-21; Rájáv. 35, 24-25.

XXVII., 1-48.—Gámani, remembering an old prophecy, determines to build the Lohapásáda for the priesthood. A heavenly palace is to serve as the pattern, which as a reward for piety belonged to a deví who was once a slave. Eight theras produce the plans. A great festival is held at the dedication of the Lohapásáda.

D. 19, 1; PThv. 52, 31-54, 16; SThv. 146, 4-148, 22; Pújáv. 17, 13-18; Rájaratn. 13, 30-31; Rájáv. 35, 25-32.

XXVIII., 1-43.—Gámani determines to erect the Maháthúpa. The God Vissakamma prepares the bricks; these are discovered by a hunter. In like manner treasures of gold, copper, precious stones, silver, and pearls appear. The finders are richly rewarded.

PThv. 54, 17-56, 31; SThv. 148, 24-151 E. Short account of the building: Pújáv. 17, 18-19; Rájaratn. 13, 31-14, 3; Rájáv. 35, 33-34

XXIX., 1-12.—The finest kind of clay is used for the building. Ten different layers form the foundations.

D. 19, 2-3; PThv. 56, 33-57, 16; SThv. 152, 1-28.

XXIX., 13-46.—The king organizes a great festival on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone. The town is decorated, and the crowds of people streaming in are well cared for. Distinguished priests come with their followers from all parts and stand around in a circle at the place where the festival is held.

D. 19, 4-7; PThv. 57, 16-58, 25; SThv. 152, 28-155, 22 (the procession of the king is described in detail in 153, 29 *et seq.*).

XXIX., 47-70.—The king takes his place in the middle. at the same time greeting the priesthood. One of his ministers draws the circle, marking the base of the future tope. The Thera Siddhattha persuades the king to build the tope smaller than he had at first intended. Gámani himself lays the first stone on the east side, his ministers lay the seven other stones. The Thera Piyadassi gives an impressive sermon.

PThv. 58, 26-60, 16; SThv. 155, 23-158, 17. For the statement of the theras signifying a good omen, compare MT. 378, 2 *et seq.*; 379, 2-381, 17 = D. 19, 8; PThv. 59, 1-5; 18-21; SThv. 156, 5-16; 156, 35-157, 6. Cf. also MT. 381, 4-382, 19. For the auspicious names of the son of the minister who drew the circle, his father and his mother, see MT. 382, 19-35 = D. 19, 9; PThv. 59, 21 *et seq.*; SThv. 157, 6 *et seq.* For the close of the festival cf. MT. 383, 7-384, 37 = PThv. 60, 4-11; SThv. 157, 34-158, 7 (greeting of the theras standing at the east, south, west, and north sides, as well as at the other corners),

XXX., 1-20.—The king entertains the monks, and the brickwork is begun. A bubble serves as the model for the tope. Gámani forbids unpaid work.

PThv. 60, 18-61, 24 ; SThv. 158, 19-160, 14.

XXX., 21-41.—Two theras work at the building of the tope secretly, in order to gain merit. The king learns of it, and succeeds in depriving them of their reward by a trick.

PThv. 61, 25-63, 21 ; SThv. 160, 14-163, 27.

XXX., 42-50.—The work on the tope is attended with rich rewards in the next world. Two women, who have co-operated in the building, are re-born as *devís*. They come back once from heaven to pay reverence to the tope. The Thera Mahásiva saw them on this occasion.

PThv. 63, 21-64, 2 ; SThv. 163, 27-164, 18.

XXX., 51-100.—The theras allow the first layer of bricks to sink into the ground nine times in order to give especial strength to the building, after which the relic chamber is built ; it is made of rare stones brought from the Himálayas. Costly treasures, including a copy of the Bo-tree, a throne with umbrella, a figure of Buddha, and also figures of the gods, all made of precious metals and jewels, as well as pictures of the life and earlier existences of Buddha, &c., decorate the interior of the cell.

MT. 398, 26-400, 38 ; PThv. 64, 3-67, 20 ; 69, 31-34 ; SThv. 164, 19-173, 3 ; 177, 4-7. History of the Thera Cittagutta and his sermon on the treasures of the *dhátugabbha*, MT. 400, 39-401, 10 ; PThv. 67, 21-28 ; SThv. 173, 4-14.

XXXI., 1-30.—The theras appoint Soṇuttara to collect the relics ; he had desired to have this duty during Buddha's lifetime in an earlier existence. He is to fetch the relics which used to be in a tope at Rámagáma, but had been carried away from here into the ocean, and were now under the protection of the Nágas.

MT. 405, 3-407, 4 ; 408, 26 *et seq.* ; PThv. 69, 36-71, 1 ; SThv. 177, 9-179, 9 ; Pújáv. 17, 19-25 ; Rájáv. 35, 32-33.

XXXI., 31-74.—The king decorates the town for the impending festival. Soṇuttara betakes himself to the Nága king and orders him to give up the relics. The nephew of the Nága king tries to carry them off into safety, but the thera seizes them from him. Still some of them are left to the sorrowing Nágas to worship.

PThv. 71, 1-74, 8 ; SThv. 179, 9-185, 18.

XXXI., 75-125.—The gods attend the relics with ceremony ; the king receives them with reverence. A marvel is shown, and the relics raise themselves into the air, taking upon themselves the form of the Buddha. After which they return

to the urn. The king and the Thera Indagutta bring them to the relic cell, where they once again assume the form of the dying Buddha. The giving of alms to the priesthood terminates the festival, and the cell is closed up. The people dispose a great number of relics in the tope before the building is completed.

PThv. 74, 9-77, 7; SThv. 185, 18-191, 23. Other merits of Gámani, such as alms to the church, care for the sick, building of hospitals, and spread of the faith: Pújav. 17, 25-18, 23; Rájaratn. 14, 10-19.

XXXII., 1-84.—Before the completion of the Maháthúpa, Duṭṭhagámani became ill. He had his bed carried to the tope. The monks stand around him, chanting their prayers. The king in his dying moments feels a longing to see his former comrade, Theraputtábhaya. He comes to comfort and encourage the dying man. Duṭṭhagámani is then carried up to heaven, in sight of the gathered people, in a chariot sent by the gods, to be born again in the future as the first pupil of the Buddha Metteyya.

D 19, 23; MT. 425, 2 *et seq.*; 433, 1-434, 6; PThv. 77, 10-81, 31; SThv. 191, 25-198, 35; Pújav. 18, 23-25; Rájaratn. 14, 19-20; Rájáv. 35, 34-36, 1 *Cf.* Dhv. 48, 17-20.

XXXIII., 1-16.—Prince Sáli renounces the throne on account of his love for a Caṇḍála maiden, and Gámani's brother Saddhátissa (18 years) succeeds. He completes the Maháthúpa, rebuilds the Lohapásáda, founds monasteries, and gives alms to the priesthood.

D. 19, 10; 20, 1-7; MT. 439, 7-441, 13 (the love story of Sáli); Pújav. 18, 25-29; Rájaratn. 15, 1-8; Rájáv. 36, 1-4 (37 years).

XXXIII., 17-33.—Tissa's son, Thullathana (1 month 10 days), builds the Kandara monastery, and after him his brother Lajjitissa (9 years 8 months) beautifies the Maháthúpa and the Thúpárama, erects the Selathúpa, and builds monasteries. Then Khallátanága (6 years) reigns, the brother of the preceding king.

D. 20, 8 (Thullathana 1 month 10 days); 20, 9-11 (Lajjitissa 9 years 6 months); 20, 12-13 (Khallátanága 6 years). Thul.: Pújav. 18, 30-31 (1 year 10 months); Rájaratn. 15, 8; Rájáv. 36, 4-5 (1 year 8 months). Lemenitissa: Pújav. 18, 31-32 (9 years 8 months 14 days); Rájaratn. 15, 9-12 (9 years); Rájáv. 36, 6-7 (39 years). Kajunná: Pújav. 18, 32-33 (6 years); Rájaratn. 15, 12-15 (6 years). In the Rájáv. it is not found.

XXXIII., 34-63a.—Vaṭṭagámani (5 months), his brother, is defeated by invading Damīlas. He flees to Malaya with his wife Anulā and his two sons, leaving behind his other wife Somadeví; there he takes refuge in a hunter's house, named Tanasiva. Two of the leaders of the Damīla return to India; one takes Somadeví with him, the other carries off Buddha's alms-bowl as booty; the remaining five reign 14 years 7 months.

D. 20, 14-17; Nik. S. 10, 13-17 (439 A.B. = 103 B.C.); Pújāv. 18, 33-19, 4 (5 months + 17 years 11 months); Rájaratn. 15, 15-22 (5 months + 14 years 7 months); Rájáv. 36, 7-14 (5 months + 14 years)

XXXIII., 63b-105.—Vatṭagámani eventually kills Tana-síva in a quarrel. He then proclaims himself king and gathers around him his eight heroes with a great army. But as he shows violence towards Kapisísa, one of his heroes, the other seven forsake him; the Thera Tissa however reconciles them again with the king. Vatṭagámani defeats the Damiḷa Dáthika and again takes possession of the sovereignty (12 years). He erects the Abhayagiri Vihára and other buildings. His men also build monasteries. The monks of the Abhayagiri Vihára quarrel with those of the Mahávihára; the monks of the Dakkhiṇavihára consequently separate from the latter. Vatṭagámani orders the sacred texts and commentaries to be put down in writing.

D. 20, 18-21; Nik. S. 10, 17-11, 10; 11, 11-34; Pújāv. 19, 4-10 (*bemñiṭi-sāya*, see p. 114 of the German edition); Rájaratn. 15, 22-16, 6; 16, 10-20; Rájáv. 36, 14-18; Sás. 23, 19-27.

XXXIV., 1-27.—Mahácúḷa Mahátissa (14 years) does work for hire in order to be able to give alms from what he earns; he builds many monasteries. The wicked Coranága succeeds him (10 years), then Tissa (3 years), who is followed by the vicious Anulá (4 years 3 months); she raises her paramours to the throne one after the other.

D. 20, 22-23; 24; 25; 26-30. Mahádeḷiyá Tis: Pújāv. 19, 10-11; Rájaratn. 16, 24-26; Rájáv. 36, 18-20 (50 years). Coranága: Pújāv. 19, 11-16; Rájaratn. 16, 26-17, 7; Rájáv. 36, 20-37, 12 (*bemñiṭi-sāya*, cf. p. 111, German edition). Kudátissa: Pújāv. 19, 16-18; Rájaratn. 17, 12; Rájáv. 37, 12-13. Anulá: Pújāv. 19, 18-26; Rájaratn. 17, 12-13; Rájáv. 37, 13-18 (cf. p. 109, Note 2, German edition). Kings from Mahádeḷiyá Tis to Vyavaháratissa: Nik. S. 12, 1-11.

XXXIV., 28-36.—Kálakaṇṇitissa (22 years), the son of Mahácúḷa, adds to the decoration of the Cetiya mountain a hall, tope, and Bo-tree; he also builds monasteries—a nunnery for his mother—a palace, tanks, and canals, and surrounds Anurádhapura with walls and moats.

D. 20, 31-35. Makalan Tis: Pújāv. 19, 26-28; Rájaratn. 17, 13-19; Rájáv. 37, 18-20.

XXXIV., 37-67.—Bhátikábhaya (28 years) decorates the Lohapásáda, the Maháthúpa, and the Thúpárama, and lays out gardens. Out of reverence to the Maháthúpa he institutes a great festival of offerings. The monks show him by his express wish the treasures kept in the *dhátugabbha*, of which he has pictures made.

D. 21, 1-30; MT. 401, 11-402, 29; PThv. 67, 29-69, 3; SThv. 173, 14-176, 7; Pújāv. 19, 28-20, 1; Rájaratn. 17, 19-19, 11; Rájáv. 37, 21-28.



XXXIV., 68-94.—Mahádáthika Mahánága (12 years), the brother of the former king, has the terraces of the Maháthúpa laid with stone flags; he builds a tope at Ambatthala and orders a Giribhaṇḍa festival in its honour. He also erects monasteries and makes endowments.

D. 21, 31-33; Pújáv. 20, 1-19 (festival of lamps on the water!); Rájaratn. 19, 23-33; Rájáv. 37, 28-38, 5.

XXXV., 1-45a.—The pious and liberal Ámaṇḍa Gámani (8 years 9 months) then reigns, whom his brother Kaṇṭijánutissa (3 years) succeeds; then Cuḷábhaya, the son of the former king (1 year), and Sívallí, his sister (4 months). Her successor, Iṇanága (3 + 6 years), is thrown into prison by the Lambakaṇṇas, who rise against him. He is liberated by his state elephant. The king escapes to India, the elephant to Malaya. From Rohaṇa Iṇanága begins war on the Lambakaṇṇas. He defeats them; many of them he beheads, of others he has their noses and toes cut off.

Ámaṇḍa G. to Sívallí: D. 21, 34-41a; Pújáv. 20, 19-27; Rájaratn. 20, 7-30; Rájáv. 38, 6-9. Iṇanága: D. 21, 41b-43; Pújáv. 20, 27-29; Rájaratn. 20, 30-21, 13.\*

XXXV., 45b-58.—Candamukha Síva (8 years 7 months), the son of Iṇanága, builds the Maṇikáragáma tank. His brother, Yasalálaka Tissa, succeeds him (7 years 8 months); he is dethroned by his doorkeeper Subha (6 years), who builds cells and monasteries.

D. 21, 44-48; Pújáv. 20, 29-32; Rájaratn. 21, 20-25; Rájáv. 38, 9-10.

XXXV., 59-111.—Vasabha (44 years), a Lambakaṇṇa, takes refuge in the Mahávihára from the pursuit of the king. From thence he goes to Rohaṇa, and beginning from that district, he reconquers the kingdom. He lengthens his life by many pious deeds. He constructs eleven tanks. He marries his son Tissa to a daughter of his predecessor Subha.

D. 22, 1-11; Pújáv. 20, 32-21, 4 (*Vehep*); Rájaratn. 21, 20-22 last line (*Vahap*); Rájáv. 38, 12-19 (*Vehep*). Vasabha and Mahásíva: MT. 402, 30-403, 13; PThv. 69, 4-29; SThv. 176, 7-177, 4.

XXXV., 112-127.—Vaṇkanásika Tissa (3 years), the son of Vasabha, succeeds; he is followed by Gajabáhuka Gámani (12 years), who builds monasteries and topes and constructs

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\* The kings are called in the Pújáv. Aḍaḡemuṇu (9 years 8 months), Kiṇihiridala (3 years), Kuḍá Abá (1 year), Siphavallí (4 months), Elunná (6 years); in the Rájaratn. Aḍaḡemuṇu, Maṇigiridala, Sulu Abá, Siphavallí, Elunná; in Rájáv. Aḍaḡemuṇu, Kiṇihirideḷi (9 years), Kuḍá Abá, Sívallí, Eluná.

the Gámanitissa tank ; then comes Mahallaka Nága (6 years), his father-in-law, who builds seven monasteries.

D. 22, 12 and 27, 13-14 and 28, 15-17 and 29 ; Pújáv. 21, 4-18 ; Rájaratn. 23, 7-24 ; Rájáv. 38, 20-39 last line. Cf. p. 116, German edition. The Rájaratn. makes Mahaludá follow Vahap, who is not elsewhere named. The Pújáv. makes Gajabá to reign 22 years ; the Rájáv. allows him 24 years. The three chronicles name Mahallaka Nága, Mahajumáná.

XXXVI., 1-26.—Bhátika Tissa (24 years) and Kaniṭṭha Tissa (28 years), sons of the Mahallaka Nága, carry out numerous buildings, thereby acquiring merit. Cūlanága (2 years), the son of Kaniṭṭha Tissa, succeeds ; then his brother, Kuḍḍanága (1 year), afterwards his brother-in-law, Sirinága (19 years), who undertakes building operations at the Maháthúpa, at the Lohapásáda. and around the Bo-tree.

D. 22, 18-22 and 30, 23-25 and 31, 26 and 32-33, 34-36 ; Pújáv. 21, 18-23 (Tissa II. 18 years) ; Rájaratn. 23, 24-24, 7 ; Rájáv. (only Bhátika Tissa 24 years and Kuḍḍaná 20 years) 39 last line to 40, 2 (Sirinága is wanting).

XXXVI., 27-41.—Voháraka Tissa (22 years) forbids the killing of living beings throughout Laṅká, undertakes the restoration of various buildings, concerns himself with the spread of the faith, supports monks being in debt, and suppresses the Vetulla sect.

\* D. 22, 39-45 ; Nik. S. 12, 9-24 ; Pújáv. 21, 23-24 ; Rájaratn. 24, 7-25, 3 ; Rájáv. 40, 2-3 ; Sás. 25, 11-14.

XXXVI., 42-57.—Tissa is dethroned by his brother Abhayanága (8 years), who had had to flee because he had committed adultery, but had left behind in the father-in-law of the king a secret supporter. Tissa's son Sirinága II. (2 years) succeeds him ; then his son Vijaya (1 year).

D. 22, 37-38 ; 46-47 and 51 ; Pújáv. 21, 24-28 ; Rájaratn. 25, 8-11 ; Rájáv. 40, 3-7 (Abá Sen 2 years, Siri Ná 2 years, Vijayindu 6 years). Kings from Abá Tissa to Goṭhābhaya : Nik. S. 12, 25-27.

XXXVI., 58-72.—Three Lambakannas, Saṅghatissa, Saṅghabodhi, and Goṭhābhaya, resort to Vijaya's court from Mahiyaṅgana. On the way they meet a blind man, who prophesies that they will succeed to the throne. After Vijaya's dethronement Saṅghatissa comes first to the throne (4 years). He provides the Maháthúpa with a golden pointed cone and appoints alms for the priesthood. He dies on the " Eastern Island " from eating a poisoned *jambu* fruit.

D. 22, 48-50 and 52 ; Hatthav. III., 2-6 ; Pújáv. 21, 28-29 ; Rájaratn. 25, 11-17 ; Rájáv. 40, 7-8.

XXXVI., 73-90.—Saṅghabodhi (2 years) builds a refectory at the Mahāvihāra. Through his piety he delivers the Island from a severe famine. He suppresses brigandage, without putting to death any of the robbers. He appeases the demon

“red eye,” who had caused an epidemic, by offering himself as the sacrifice.

D. 22, 53-54; Hatthav. V., 1; VI.; VII., 1-12; Pájáv. 21, 30-22, 9; Rájaratn. 25, 17-31; Rájáv. 40, 8-22.

XXXVI., 91-97.—When Goṭhābhaya, in order to strengthen himself in the sovereignty, advances, Saṅghabodhi voluntarily leaves the capital. In the jungle he surrenders his own head as thank offering for a meal which a poor man had given him, so that he might take it to Goṭhābhaya and receive the reward offered.

Hatthav. VII., 13-15; VIII., 1-13; Pájáv. 22, 9-27; Rájaratn. 25, 31-32; Rájáv. 40, 22-41, 21.

XXXVI., 98-117.—Goṭhābhaya or Meghavaṇṇābhaya (13 years) execute many pious works. He suppresses the Vetulla sect in the Abhayagiri Vihāra, but the monk Saṅghamittā, who because of that bore a grudge against the monks of the Mahāvihāra, obtains the confidence of the king as well as that of his second son, Mahāsena.

D. 22, 55-60; Nik. S. 12, 27-14, 4 (origin of the Sāgaliya sect, suppression of the Vetulla teachings, history of Saṅghamittā); Pájáv. 22, 28-31; Rájaratn. 26, 12-27, 11 (endowment of the Attanagalu Vihāra, rise of the Vetulla teachings, buildings of G., suppression of the Vetulla sect); Rájáv. 41, 21-24 (13 years); Sās. 25, 15-17.

XXXVI., 118-133.—Jetthatissa (12 years), Goṭhābhaya's elder son, severely punishes fractious nobles. Saṅghamittā flees to India, but remains in communication with Mahāsena. Jetthatissa reigns in piety.

D. 22, 61-56; Nik. S. 14, 5-11; Pájáv. 22, 31-23, 6; Rájaratn. 27, 18-25; Rájáv. 41, 24-31 (10 years).

XXXVI., 1-50.—After Jetthatissa's death Saṅghamittā returns to Ceylon and establishes Mahāsena (27 years) as king. The monks of the Mahāvihāra are persecuted, and their monastery is destroyed at Saṅghamittā's instigation and that of the king's minister Soṇa. Enraged at this, another minister, Meghavaṇṇābhaya, flies to Malaya and rebels against the king; but he becomes reconciled again, and is moved from his purpose. Saṅghamittā is murdered by a woman; Soṇa is also killed. The Mahāvihāra is rebuilt and again occupied by monks; but as the king surrenders some of the ground belonging to the Mahāvihāra to the Jetavana monastery which he rebuilt, the monastery is again deserted by its monks. An upright judge decides the quarrel on behalf of the Mahāvihāra. The king founds monasteries, carries out other building operations, and constructs sixteen tanks.

D. 22, 66-76; Nik. S. 14, 11-16, 7; Pájáv. 23, 6-29; Rájaratn. 27, 30-28, last line (27 years); Rájáv. 41, 32-42, 24 (cf. p. 111); Sās. 25, 18-32.

*The Translator desires to state that the mixture of diacritic founts and irregularities in the use of diacritics in this book are due to the insufficient resources of the Printer.*

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